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Towards a Dynamic Administration

(An Address by the Prime Minister of India)

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TOWARDS A DYNAMIC ADMINISTRATION

[The following is the full text of the address delivered by the Institute's President, Shri Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, at the Fifth Annual Meeting of the General Body of the Institute, held on April 25, 1959. To enable the readers to share the experience of those who heard it, the address is reproduced as it fell from the Prime Minister's lips in a spontaneous and "thinking-aloud" style.—Ed.]

WHENEVER I speak on these occasions it is not so much about the very important specific problems with which you deal but rather on certain general considerations which, I think, are important. I am just trying to refresh my memory as to what I said last year on this occasion. I am afraid I might repeat myself, though a certain measure of repetition about important matters is not bad.

Yesterday, it so happened, I was in Mussoorie and I paid a visit to the Research Centre of the Community Development Organisation. I was very much impressed by that little Centre, only about 50-60 persons taking a course for, I think, six weeks at a time. Each batch contains a number of servicemen and a number of non-servicemen. I dislike, and I don't think it is quite correct to use, the words "officials and non-officials", which are a relic of the British times. People are servicemen and non-servicemen; that I can understand. What am I? Am I an official or non-official? I am obviously an official but I am not a serviceman. The correct description, therefore, is a serviceman and a non-serviceman, just as in our diplomatic service we might say a particular person is a careerman or a non-careerman, though they are both in service. So both these are, I find, mixed up at this Research Centre, but when I stopped a little while at the Centre I did not meet them, as normally I am supposed to meet people. When I pay a visit the people are generally collected together and I am supposed to address them, which may be sometimes helpful

but not very much, and certainly I get no idea of what they are doing. But this time I found them carrying on their work separately. Each group, which, for some reason I could not understand, was called a syndicate; and each syndicate was discussing a subject heatedly. There were seven syndicates and the idea was to discuss a subject for two weeks or so, then draw up a report and circulate it to other syndicates which discuss it. Ultimately all syndicates meet together for a joint discussion of their individual reports. Obviously this method seems to me superior to listening to lectures. If two people come out, meet and criticise each other's views on a subject, their consideration of that subject becomes more and more mature and deeper.

So I was rather impressed by this method, specially in a study of a subject which is not a subject about which you get too many precedents, which is a dynamic, growing subject. In a sense community development in its various aspects covers such a variety of public administration that although it does not deal with higher echelons of public administration it does deal with its lower levels in the rural areas and almost everything in the rural areas comes into touch with community development. And I feel that more and more attention is needed to these what might be called the lower ranks of public administration, than to the higher ranks. Higher ranks are important. Because higher ranks get some attention they are much more in the public eye, but the lower ranks are much more important for the life of the common people. I do not know how far this *Institute* or other institutes of the kind think of that aspect of administration at the level of the petty revenue official, the petty this and the petty that, who is far more important from the point of view of the average resident of India, specially in the village, than high officials. Here, you may well recall an old story of an old lady whose son was, I believe, being tried for a very serious offence, may be murder, before the High Court. And when he was acquitted by the High Court, the old lady thanked the Judge saying : "May you rise to be a Kotwal*!". For her the Kotwal was a much more important person than the High Court Judge. She had to deal with him daily. So we have to think of the lower functionaries, for they are the base.

<center>*   *   *</center>

Great stress is being laid at present by the Planning Commission, by the National Development Council, and generally by Government on panchayats, co-operatives, etc. One aspect of that stress is that these organisations should not be officialised, that they should be

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*Circle police official.

controlled by the people of the village who form the members, and that the official element should be rather distinctly advisory—of course, helpfully advisory—but not at all in the sense of bossing over, interfering, and not allowing, if I may say so, the members of the panchayat to make any number of mistakes. Let them make mistakes; let us accept that a mistake is often better than the helplessness and powerlessness which comes from somebody sitting on top and carrying on the business of the panchayats. They will never grow by that. Now that is an important emphasis. There is nothing new about it. But it is an emphasis on the great part of the administration in the lower levels being carried on by the non-service elements, the non-official elements; and that brings new problems in its train. Presumably, when you deal with the administration most of the time you are thinking more of the service—not always of course. Now, as the country advances and specially as it advances towards the socialist pattern, there are likely to be more and more people engaged in Government service, the State services, at all levels. That is bound to happen. But far more persons should be engaged in administrative service in a voluntary way, in a non-service manner. In fact, we should draw in almost every active member of the public to do something or the other, in some form or the other, in some way, and thus have a large network of administration. I should like this *Institute* to devote its attention to the study of the administrative problems lower down the official scale, and more especially to the question of the non-serviceman coming into the picture and taking part in administration at the lower levels and growing as he does this work because the most important thing is that when he does it he grows.

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Nowadays we are talking a good deal about co-operatives, and it is suggested that we should cover every village as a co-operative, barring perhaps—I do not know—some special areas, like tribal areas, which will also have co-operatives, maybe of somewhat different kind. Now this is a pretty big undertaking—having every village in India as a co-operative. Again that requires a good deal of work, some kind of training, sometimes highly specialised, sometimes a little less so, and I take it that Governments—State and Centre—are going to take steps to train people of every type through highly specialised courses, maybe of a year or six months, shorter courses of a month, even shorter courses for the panchas and the sarpanchas of three or four days, just to explain to the millions of villagers to give them some idea of co-operative and panchayat work. We are launching out, in this way, in new directions outside the scope of our old admi-

nistrative apparatus and we want to give far greater power to panchayats and to the village co-operatives than they have today, knowing full well that they may misuse it, make mistakes, and the like. The mistakes of the panchayats will not endanger the security of the country. We can survive it. But they will suffer for it, they will learn from it, and the public will learn from it too.

In fact, the biggest mistakes or the biggest of errors that we commit are the errors of not doing things or delaying things. I am convinced of that. A mistake is far better than not doing a thing. You can rectify an error but you can never catch back the time you have lost by not doing something. Enough stress had been laid, in my address last year, on what I have said above. This year also, a reference has been made to this question of delay, to procedures which involve delay—apart from the individual's slackness, it is procedures that involve delay. In spite of every effort, we still go through procedures which involve far too great delays. We have to be careful. There is a word which has a bad odour about it. It is a big word —bureaucratisation—too much bureaucracy. Bureaucracy is essential. Bureaucracy means organised work. There is nothing wrong about it—about work in an office; but if we have too much of it, it grows by—what is it called?—Parkinson's Law. Bureaucracy really has an amazing capacity to grow and create work for itself which is not wanted for public purposes at all. We then work for each other. We have to be always on our guard against this and the best way to avoid all this trouble is to avoid processes involving delay.

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The other day I was in south India, in the southern districts of Madras. It had nothing particularly to do with public administration, but I was very much impressed by the rapid improvement being made there in primary education. In numbers alone, of course, the progress has not been much, but it was very impressive and heartening. Every two miles I had to stop because there was a school and the children were lined up. I travelled about 49 miles by an open car, and you can imagine hundreds and thousands of schoolchildren, vast numbers, standing by, and many of them of amazingly small age; to me they looked to be 4-5 years and upwards. The Madras Government has specially introduced midday meals and what they call school improvement societies. I went to two conferences of school improvement societies and I was astonished at the bigness of their organisation. Each had about 12,500 teachers, and at least a considerable number of them were women, collected together

and discussing their problems in an orderly way—how to improve their schools. There was a wonderful display of gifts; it was an astonishing display really. The quantity itself was impressive, all collected from parents, and others, for the improvement of the schools. What was more significant was a spirit of enthusiasm among the teachers and parents and all concerned, and all co-operating. There were many Catholic schools and other schools, all co-operating in this. That heartened me more than many things that I usually see.

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We are today giving a great deal of intensive thought to the third Five-Year Plan, the approach to it, the size of it, the content of it. We are still in the initial stages although we have been discussing it very deeply for at least six months. We want the greatest discussion, the greatest consideration not in a wishful thinking way, not in a general way as perhaps inevitably we have had to do when we started our First Plan but in a more detailed and concrete manner, looking well into the future; because the more you think of the Plan, the more you have to look to the future in five years, ten years, 20 years, in a perspective way. The Plan is for every aspect of our life and it affects even our institutional approaches; and the problem comes up to us in various ways. How far the present type of institution is suited to the type of society for which we are working? Some institutions are good, I am not criticising them; but it is not a question of goodness or badness but of fitness. How far the existing institutions will fit in with the type of society that we are trying to evolve? This *Institute* will have to keep this particular matter very specially in mind and try to follow the thinking of the evolution of the third Plan from the institutional point of view. There are sometimes discussions and criticisms, specially in Parliament, about the public sector or the new corporations and other undertakings in the public sector that are functioning; and, I think, it is a very good thing that these criticisms take place in Parliament, though very often they are not wholly justified. Nevertheless, it is a good thing. Of course, the private sector has no such tribunal to face, unless some major development takes place, when something may be said in the newspapers. But the newspapers are always full of questions and statements and discussions on the public sector.

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Now I do not wish to be unfair to anybody but I should like to say that my firm opinion gathered after some knowledge is that the public sector in India today is infinitely superior to the private sector.

I have not a shadow of doubt about it; it is superior in competence, superior in economy, and superior in the general outlook it is developing or the general public outlook. And I say, more especially, that, in spite of all the criticisms and the numerous errors and mistakes that we have made and we are making, it is more efficient and more economical. Despite occasional errors here and there, I am very pleased at the way the public sector is developing in India, whether it is the Sindri, whether it is the Chittaranjan, whether it is the Machine Tools, whether it is the Telephone Factory or any other project. You cannot easily adjudge the Hindustan Aircrafts : projects like these you can only measure by cost efficiency. Nobody gives them any publicity, not much, so that I should like to put on record my appreciation of the public enterprises. Even if you take the iron and steel plants, which are criticised, I think, they are very fine achievements— Rourkela and Bhilai. I should like to say that it is a very heartening sight how our people are working in the public sector; they are doing very good work.

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There is one thing to which I referred last time too. Ultimately, an administration has to work with some objectives in view, more especially in a dynamic society. Administration is not obviously just doing some odd job, putting a note on a file, etc. It has got to aim at an objective. If the objective is, let us say, the Plan, the Second Five-Year Plan, or the third Five-Year Plan that is coming, or, let us say, a socialist pattern of society which we aim at, then surely the administrator has to think of that. He is not some kind of a static person who does not apply his mind to the basic objectives. He is working to an end, and must always keep that in view even in small things as also in big things. It may be, of course, that the manner of doing something may differ as there are differences of opinion but the basic objectives should be inscribed in the room, on the walls of the administrator's office. That is "Where we are going to?" has to be remembered; only then can the institutions we have, be worked to that end properly.

Well, you have honoured me by electing me again as the *Institute's* President, in spite of the fact that I only appear here once a year; and I am grateful to you for it. Thank you.
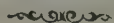
THE DEVELOPMENT BLOCK AS A SOCIAL SYSTEM ?

Howard W. Beers and Douglas Ensminger

IN describing village "circles" and community development "blocks" in India, one might quip about round plugs in square holes. A time has come, however, when the block as a new part of socio-political organization can be an appropriate object of serious sociological study.

British practice in India of government through administrative and judicial functionaries (divisional officers, district collectors and magistrates) in charge of designated areas has been cited as a natural forerunner of the post-independence *development block*[1]. It has been documented in many places that district boards and taluk boards were formed in all the provinces during the last 30 years of the 19th century[2]. The British had spurned traditional panchayats apparently for two reasons, first they couldn't be controlled readily enough and second they followed caste divisions. So the government used the ryot and zamindar to collect land revenue according to patwari records and under the administration of the tehsildar. It was in the interest of none of these functionaries to strengthen local democratic self-government!

These district and taluk boards were "appendages" to the offices of higher government, and such control as they had reached into lesser problems of communications, health, and primary education. About 1920 a feeling began to develop that village panchayats should be built up and that district boards should be elected instead of appointed (nominated). Taluk boards were eliminated, and independent India at first had only some panchayats and some district boards. These were the existing semblances of rural local self-government. Concern for hospitals and major roads had begun to pass over to State Governments, and within the past decade the new programmes of community development have presented the people of India with the block. Meanwhile, views on the form which rural local government should take have differed but concurrence grows that local

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1. V. Nath, "Area Development" in *Kurukshetra*, October 2, 1957, pp. 45-47, 174-175, New Delhi, Ministry of Community Development, (reprinted in *Community and Development Review*, March 1958, pp. 58-64) Washington D.C., International Cooperative Administration.

2. K. Santhanam, "Changing Pattern of Rural Self-Government", *Kurukshetra*, January 1959, p.336 ff.

government must exist, and it must function with vigour and health, as intended by Article 40 of the Constitution of India.

The block unit comprises a hundred villages, more or less, and was formed to execute the development programmes which are the nation's urgent preoccupation in its first exercise of independence. The block's chief executive or administrator is the new and notorious block development officer (B.D.O.), variously viewed as an upstart and usurper on the one hand, or on the other as a fulcrum of all progress! Although some blocks are more or less coextensive in boundary with old tax collection areas (taluks or tehsils), and although pre-independence government did have certain "developmental" undertakings, typically the block is a new real unit, with a new function and many new and commanding problems of organization.

Although three patterns of organization have been recognized since the inception of the work in 1952 (community development, national extension service, post-intensive phase), it will suit our need in this discussion to consider the single concept of community development extension block.

Essentially the block and its organization are simple and easily described. Villages are grouped in "circles" of five to ten each, and served by Gram Sevaks, one to a circle. The block, with its 10 circles has a staff over which the B.D.O. presides, being responsible vertically to a District Development Commissioner who is over several blocks, and then, through the latter to the State Development Commissioner and the State Development Board or Committee. Nationally the leadership and responsibility lie in the Ministry of Community Development and Co-operation. Members of the block staff include representatives of the several departments which carry out developmental tasks. As members of the block staff they are specialists responsible to the B.D.O. and serving the villagers through the Gram Sevaks in their various circles. As members of various departments they have other duties some of which involve inspection, regulation, control and statistical reporting performed with the knowledge of, but not under the control of the B.D.O. The block is thus a device for co-ordinating locally the services of several but not all departments.[3] The departments concerned with Public Works and with Irrigation, for example, are typically not included.

The block has crucial importance in India's plans hence it attracts equally the vigorous compliments of critics, and the almost cultish endorsement of believers. Established already in half of

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3. B. Mukerji, "Administrative Co-ordination in Community Development", *Indian Journal of Public Administration*, January-March 1958, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 19-30.

India, and projected to cover the nation within a few years, it bears the weight of governmental expectations, and it runs always the risk of facing popular disillusionment over real or presumed failure to achieve.[4] With the block, government has introduced (1) a *new unit* of action and administration with (2) a *new function* (development), (3) a *new category of functionaries* (multi-purpose workers : B.D.O. and Gram Sevak), and (4) a *new procedure* (extension education). It, therefore, attracts applied research,[5] and exists as a suitable context in which to take observations for analytical study.

THE CONCEPT : SOCIAL SYSTEM

Is the block only an artefact of government? Will it become solid and established, or will it be a passing phase in the organization of India's government? To what extent will it become a *social system* permanently embedded in the network of the total society of India? This is the question to be explored in a tentative manner in this paper. To find an answer it is necessary to consider the nature of a social system and the elements which it comprises.

An acceptable classification of the elements of a social system includes *belief, sentiment, end, norm, status-role, power, rank, sanction,* and *facility*.[6] Our task at the moment then is to survey the development block to see whether it contains these elements in such a manner as to reveal whether or not the block is a present or emerging social system.

To the reader unfamiliar with such a list of the elements of a social system only slight explanation will be needed. Belief and sentiment can be taken in their usual meaning; ends are goals or purposes; norms are the established rules of acceptable behaviour in a group (system); status-roles are the positions occupied and parts played therefrom by members of a group; power is merely influence or authority exercised within and by the system; rank is the ordering of position on a scale between low and high; sanctions are the rewards and penalties accorded for behaviour that is approved or disapproved; —facilities are any additional devices or instruments by which goal achievement is undertaken. These, then are the "stuff" of social systems, and this nomenclature now recognized rather generally among sociologists is not unwieldy even in popular discussion.

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4. At the end of 1958, there were 2405 blocks, with a population of 165 million (56 per cent of India's total) in 302,947 villages.

5. S.C. Dube, *India's Changing Villages,* London, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., 1958.

6. C.P. Loomis, "Systemic Linkage of El Cerrito", *Rural Sociology,* 24:1, March 1959, p. 55.

ARE THERE BLOCK BELIEFS AND SENTIMENTS?

The block was established by action of high government, but fiat does not create a social system. The latter exists only when relations have developed among persons in such a manner that the requisite elements can be noted. So we may ask first whether enough belief and sentiment have come into focus around the block to distinguish it from other social systems. Is there a body of belief (in knowledge and truth), or is there a cluster of sentiment (feeling) that is unique to—or at least generally associated with the block?

The central new belief or value in a development block might be said to be *progress*, or directed change toward improvement in production, income, levels of living and in social organization. Belief in progress is by no means peculiar to the block, nor is it even widespread within a block, but it is clearly a *raison d'etre* of the block. The old values of "tradition for tradition's sake" persist, however, and block personnel have many struggles to accommodate to old beliefs which are barriers to progress, as when villagers complain about the nuisance of surplus and useless cattle, but do not adjust their beliefs to permit any remedy. Exceptions may be noted too : the tabus of untouchability with respect to food and drinking water are seen to break down here and there. In some villages some of the women are less determined to remain unseen when a visitor looks at the improvements in their houses. Vaccination and inoculation, malaria control measures, disinfection of drinking water and many other changes portend the acceptance of and belief in progress. In these matters, of course, sentiment is involved as much as belief.

Associated beliefs (some of them often referred to as values) are the spreading opinion in India that government is for service as well as for rule, that progress is a consequence of education and "democratic" action. There is belief in aided self-help, in experimentally tested agricultural practice, in the "group approach", democratic decentralization, the electoral process, and the potentiality of panchayats.

The block then rests against a background of beliefs and sentiments that gave it birth and that continue to promote its existence and development. The special character of this environment of beliefs and sentiments reveals unity so far as certain symbols of ideas are concerned ; independence, development, education. But complete unanimity of beliefs and sentiment is not required of a social system. The discussions between believers and non-believers, the tensions revealing differences of sentiment, themselves are patterned and structured and are thus contained within the unity of the total system.

The sentiment of membership loyalty has hardly yet emerged; not all villagers know whether or not they live in a block. Not all who live within the block and know it have any feeling of "membership" or identification. Away from home, no villager would think to report his block as his location; he would name his village, then his taluk, district, and state. If and when the block has become a fully developed social system, sentiments of membership-consciousness, and loyalty will be more prominent.

It cannot be shown that the beliefs or sentiments are a monopoly of the block. It is clear too, that certain beliefs and sentiments are held by some while repudiated by others among the functionaries in blocks and among the villagers in a block population. But from these and related beliefs one can see the tentative convergence of a belief-cluster attaching to the community development block in India. The general environment of belief and sentiment is present for the emergence of the block as a fully developed social system. The special clustering of beliefs and sentiments around the development block, attached to it and detached from other systems, is not visible but there is evidence that the clustering process has begun. Whether it will continue, accelerate or eventually reverse direction may not yet be known, and at present each of these trends is possible.

ARE THERE BLOCK "ENDS"?

The purpose for which blocks exist are of course harmoniously related to the context of belief and sentiment. Study of evaluation reports supplemented by field reconnaissance indicates that knowledge of the word, "development", is fairly common and there is wide agreement that it is an acceptable end. The word is variously interpreted, however.[7] By one meaning, development refers to increased production and income. By another it means development of the community itself, as a social system within a new context of democracy. The two formulations are not completely dissociated, but they differ in degree of idealism, or in stress on "community" itself as a value.

Relatively, development is a new purpose in India. Earlier the common purpose was to get independent rule, and before that, historically the main objectives of Indians varied with the times, sometimes in resisting conquest, but usually in maintaining the *status quo* and preventing change. The end is now dynamic; it takes the form of concrete expectations that seem to stagger such efforts as are possible

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7. *Reports,* Programme Evaluation Organization, Planning Commission, Government of India, Nos. 1 to 28, 1953-1958.

to achieve by democratic or educational means. When the villagers are asked to speculate on what a visitor would find ten years hence there is an outpouring of predictions that would be an unwieldy agenda covering everything from roads, schools, irrigation water, electricity to improve farm yields, and new or improved houses.

A much discussed manifestation of *ends* in India is the "target". The target is a concrete expression, in numbers or rupees, of what should be physically achieved in the nation and its subdivisions, including each block. There has been criticism that the "target" is imposed, like the sales quota on an American auto dealer, and that "targetosis", perverts the true ends of development. The change now becoming more manifest is the process of determining block targets by internal study and discussion rather than by external superimposition.

Purposes or ends thus are becoming specific to the block more prominently than are beliefs and sentiments. The generalized end, development, takes the form of specific objectives for the villages and farms in a particular block. Consensus forms around targets for irrigation, roads, better seeds, etc.

Complete unanimity on ends can seldom be found, however, as is the case with beliefs and sentiments. A confusion of personal and sub-system ends exists. There are officials whose only end is promotion and salary increase for themselves; there are villagers whose end is "as much as they can get". There are Harijans whose end is to get land. The diversification of ends in a social system may increase as the system develops; multitudes of ends and targets might exist within its general limits and at times even be at odds with the dominant general goals.

Knowledge that they live in a block continues to spread among the people of a locality, their aspirations become continuously less latent and their personal and family ends converge to join the announced block goals of "development". Our conclusion is that with respect to "ends" as elements, the block presently qualifies for identification as a social system.

ARE THERE BLOCK NORMS?

This question leads us to look for "rules of acceptable behaviour" that inhere in the block, that pertain especially to the block and not to other social systems, or that are regroupings and configurations of old norms that reveal the formation of a new social system. The question is broad, because it involves the behaviour of functionaries and citizens in several status-roles. So far as functionaries of government

are concerned, there is going on a gradual and difficult—even painful, for some—alteration of norms. Pressures of ideology, and changing patterns of activity are setting up new criteria for officers. Agents of democratic development do not behave like officials-who-represent-the-ruler. Norms of service are encroaching, slowly here and faster there, upon the norms of official rectitude in an old structure of administration where decisions are made at the top, commands go down and reports come up! The struggle between old norms and newly emerging norms is revealed on many fields of action, and the outcome varies, often with victory for a time by the old. In blocks generally, however, discernible advance is noted for "young norms". In general we can think of them as the norms of democratic action. Illustrative normative contents taking place in and around the nation's 2400 development blocks may be identified, as in the following list.

> People should be influenced toward development by education rather than by the coercive power of government.
>
> Programmes should be based on "felt needs" rather than on diagnoses and prescriptions from above or from outside.
>
> Widespread participation should be sought rather than merely the involvement of only a minimum-group of leaders.
>
> Effective education for development begins "where the people are" rather than at some higher level of practice or knowledge.
>
> Widespread and thorough discussion, even though time-consuming is preferred over effective "coups" by a dominant few.
>
> The identification and use of natural leaders is better than the acceptance only of figure-heads of power.
>
> The planning of developmental programmes with villagers should replace the imposition, of unplanned, or centrally-planned expectations.
>
> Patience with slow, inefficient progress is preferable to more efficient action with clear-cut results.
>
> The increasing disregard of social distinctions should supersede their recognition and perpetuation.

There are parallel norm-struggles over what will be acceptable behaviour on the part of villagers in their roles as villagers-in-the block. The emerging criteria will, if present efforts succeed, result eventually in having the villager:

> Act on knowledge rather than on command.
>
> Express rather than conceal felt needs.

Take part in group discussion of new things rather than remain silent and aloof.

Participate in planning and action, rather than await cues from above or resist plans and acts.

Support and follow the influence of natural leaders, rather than being resistent or indifferent.

Respect officials for their competence rather than for their position.

In a sense this phenomenon in the present development block of struggles between the normative old and the "would-be" normative new is the crux of India's whole effort to develop and it is the most critical element in determining whether or not the block is a social system. Beliefs, sentiments, ends and norms are inextricably interrelated, and they persist or change together. It is the norms, however, that control action, determining whether it may or may not occur.

The block, then is a kind of local battleground in a widespread war of norms. If the rules get written around the emergent beliefs, sentiments, and ends discussed above, and if they cluster or regroup around the block as an area and a population, they will establish the status of the block as a social system. The battleground will have become the arena of development.

ARE THERE DISTINCTIVE STATUS-ROLES IN A BLOCK?

The most tangible evidence of a social system to an outside observer is the existence of jobs, positions, special divisions of activity among members, some of whom have special stations or offices. This is all summarized by the designation of "status-role", and the status-roles in a block are perhaps the easiest of its elements to find. Broadly, we can put them in three groups: the block staff, the village "workers", and the villagers in general. The block staff has its B.D.O. in charge, and its specialists in agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operatives, panchayats, industry, and social education. The village workers are the Gram Sevikas and Gram Sevaks, probably the co-operative secretaries and panchayat secretaries, the school teacher etc. (The patwari, or keeper of the land records is an old functionary, with only quasi-attachment to a status in the block.) Among the villagers we find several relevant status-roles: natural leaders, members of panchayats, gram sahayaks, committee members, etc.

Some status-role problems emerge from the division of labour in a village. For example, women clean waste and manure from houses

and have to fill the manure pits, if there are any. Men, on the other hand, transfer manure to the fields. Yet tabus in many sections of India prevent Gram Sevaks or Compost Inspectors, who are men, from directly teaching the women. Here is seen the need to provide some way of reaching women as well as men with agricultural extension information. Because of traditional village roles of women—and also of youth, special-interest programmes and organizations for them develop slowly and in some places not at all.

A complete survey of the features of the block as a social system could be accomplished best by considering all other elements separately for each status-role. Thus beliefs, sentiments, ends, norms, power, sanction, etc. would be observed as they appear to, occur at, or affect the status-role of B.D.O., and again for the Gram Sevak, again for the Sarpanch, etc. It is not feasible to undertake such a task in this paper; the product of such exercise could be no less than a monograph, and it would require the availability of more systematic observations than are presently at hand. In fact it might even result in the preparation of a separate monograph for each of the major status-roles in a block. This article can merely stake out the directions which could be taken in such a study, and formulate presently the hypothesis that the block is emerging as a new and very important social system in India, bidding fair to be no less a feature of Indian life and government than the county has been in the United States of America, perhaps superseding almost completely the subdivision and district.

The accommodation of incumbents to the status-roles in the block is not always accomplished without travail. The specialists on the block staff are sometimes irked by their inability to serve two masters, the B.D.O. horizontally and the technical department vertically. This is a strain that has not been prevented in the block, and apparently can be prevented only by adequate role-performance of all involved. Sometimes the strain leads to expression of a wish that the block could be eliminated, and that the pre-block attachment only to a department with direct lines to district and state government would be preferred. It is a challenge to the correlating and co-ordinating insights and skills of the B.D.O. to resolve these tensions among the incumbents of the involved status-roles. There is a trend also to think of adding even more status-roles into the block staff. Irrigation is vital to agricultural production and to economic development in India, but functionaries of the irrigation departments usually are not part of the formal block structure.

There come up within the block also problems of changing the "role" without altering the status. When a Social Education Organizer is seen instructing village representatives in a Gram Sahayak's

camp in the practices of Japanese paddy cultivation he performs the role of an agricultural adviser but in his S. E. O. status. The current grave concern with food production in India multiplies the instances of this difficulty, which really need not be a difficulty once it is explained! The fear of health specialists, educationists, and other specialists is that the wave of insistence on agricultural priority is going to remove them from the development picture, and convert the block into a specialized agricultural department. Some of them think they will all lose their jobs because the Gram Sevak must give 80 per cent of his attention to agricultural production.[8] Their "salvation", of course, will lie in applying their own energies in the behalf of food production, adjusting their roles to the requirements of the time, but retaining their status. Overly rigid concern for his "status" may keep a functionary from understanding that he can best retain it by letting his role be approximately flexible, in recognition of the priorities of the ends (goals) of the block.

One important set of influences on status-roles in the block is the gigantic training programme India has set up and continues to expand for preparing functionaries in all the jobs. There are institutes and centres to train Gram Sevaks, B.D.O.s and block specialists and all other block personnel including even camps for villagers themselves. A result is the preparation of thousands of persons for the status-roles they will have. As is sometimes said, "The whole nation is in training".

The organization of status-roles in the block continues to proliferate, and this always has implications for other elements of the block structure. The earlier formation of Block Advisory Committees did not promote rapidly enough the passing of responsibility from Centre and State Government to "the people", in accordance with announced objectives of decentralization and "people's participation". A next step was to grant these committees power to *approve* programme proposals, a greater power than that to *advise*. Efforts are now espoused to provide for *planning* programmes, a responsibility considerably greater than either mere approval or advising. The Block Advisory Committee, an advisory body, became the Block Development Committee with responsibility to approve, and the current proposal is to establish *panchayat samitis* at the block level, representing the gram panchayats on which much effort is now being expended. Whenever a network of gram and samiti panchayats shall have come into existence within a block, a very significant change will have occurred in the block's character as a social system.

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8. *The Gram Sevak's Guide for Increasing Agricultural Production*, New Delhi, Ministry of Community Development, 1958.

The probable status of these panchayats is not always discussed realistically.[9]   Although they are announced as institutions of the people in contradiction to government they become in fact *local government*, and the suspended aerial roots of the "banyan tree" that is now government in India will be fulfilled by attachment to the ground, and communications can then originate in the "soil" of democracy, and find their way upward and outward.   Sometimes it seems not quite honest to talk about the panchayats as though they are in some non-governmental category of organization.   They are, or will be, it is hoped, people's institutions, but they are also government. If they can be recognized as government, the vast and long-range task of democratizing total government in India will be well on the way in direction of accomplishment.   And the block then will be indisputably a social system, with all the elements required therein.   In the meantime it is a violation of the norms that are struggling to emerge in India to set up an opposition between "government" and people's institutions.

A next stage in the growth of local self-responsible government may be the recognition that representative government gets each group of representatives as nearly as possible directly from the public, rather than from other bodies of representatives just as most plants—other than parasites—have their rootage in the soil rather than in the bodies of other plants.   For example, members of parliament are elected by their constituencies, and not by the legislative assemblies of the states. While at present panchayat samities are discussed as bodies made up of representatives of gram panchayats, the full fruition of the idea will call for direct election by the villagers concerned of their panchayat samiti.   In the block social system, as now proposed, the villager has the status-role of elector of the gram panchayat; later he may have the additional status-role of elector of the samiti panchayat.

DOES RANK EXIST AS AN ELEMENT IN THE BLOCK?

There is a diversity of ranks among status-roles, some of them new and unique within the block and some adjustments occur to problems of rank.   The multi-purpose village worker, Gram Sevak, is not considered by villagers to be an official; he is not ranked by the villagers within the same hierarchy that includes those above him. There is hardly any grade to which he can be promoted unless he happens to be a university or college graduate, a qualification most village workers do not meet.   It is complained also that the post of

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9.   Arch Dotson, "Democratic Decentralization in Local Self-Government", *The Indian Journal of Public Administration*, January-March, 1958, Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 38-50.

B.D.O. is not open to other development workers. Outranking all other block workers, he has often been transferred from the revenue or general administrative services. Without subject-matter training in any developmental field, he outranks specialists who withhold full approval from him because of their feeling that, paradoxically, they outrank him in knowledge and capability. Remedy for this difficulty is now sought by promoting some specialists, especially agriculturists. Another problem in the block arises when the B.D.O. or block specialist "pulls his rank" on the village worker, sometimes thereby unwittingly undermining the latter's prestige with the village people. The B.D.O. who comes from an administrative hierarchy of the "old school" does not become aware of the requirement that his chief role in the new job is "supervisor" and not "boss". District level "technical officers" above the block level, are said to resent the B.D.O.'s "alienation of affections" of the block specialists. Yet the B.D.O. is not in a separate cadre of officers, he is bypassed for promotion by his parent department while a B.D.O., yet he can be promoted only by that parent department.

There are complicated ambiguities of rank in a block, and intensive studies would be revealing. The ends and norms of the block require that the block staff function as a "team", and this word appears often in the documentation. The team idea minimizes rank; each member of a "team" is equally valuable, and by this concept even the B.D.O.'s rank is removed by his task as "coach" of the "team". There are strong equalitarian strains in the social changes occuring within the Indian developmental block. The strong tradition of the importance of rank is reflected, however, in the behaviour of Indian officials generally. The rigidity of the administrative structure of obey-and-command, discussed below, may be the most stubborn barrier to the achievement of democratic development within the block. The suspicion has been heard to be voiced, in fact, that an administrative caste is forming in India.

Rank and status-role are inextricably linked in India, and it is not easy to view them separately in the village since occupation and caste are almost mutually determined. In fact, prominent aspects of status in rural India involve considerations of caste which lies behind the nature of *rank* in a social system. The national constitution formally outlaws untouchability, and Gandhi called the untouchables Harijans, or children of God. The fact of rigid caste differentiation is prominent in the village, however, and this imposes definite limits to the achievement of democratic development. In fact, when Indians use the word community in speech, they refer usually to a caste, not to a village community with several caste levels represented. Hereditary,

occupational and social status-roles effectively retard economic and social change in the block, and this situation may prevail until industrial growth has begun to demand labourers and force migration from the villages.

Some vigorous attacks are made on these factors : it is required by force of law, for example, that Harijan children be admitted to schools, and that Harijan representatives be elected to village panchayats. Questions are discussed sometimes about whether Harijan and other low-caste people who qualify educationally should be appointed to block jobs, and about what criteria should determine their posting. There are, indeed, now some Gram Sevaks of scheduled caste origin who are at work in multi-caste circles of villages.

The point is that rank in the villages severely modifies rank in the block, and adjustments in the latter depend on the context of the former. The democratization of the block, or any other system, will require the prior or at least the simultaneous democratization of the village, in which caste is such a resistant factor.

IS POWER DISCERNIBLE AS AN ELEMENT IN THE BLOCK ?

Some items which could appropriately come up for discussion under this heading have been stolen for inclusion under earlier topics, in particular those paragraphs dealing with status-roles and rank. The growing power of the block as government and shifts in power among functionaries within the block have been noted. They are countervailing to the power of vested interest represented, for example, by the money-lender "of old" and the zamindars. Then too there is the negative power of resistant tradition.

Villagers in a development block will say, "the only officials we ever saw were the tax collector and the policeman", referring to new roles of officials. However, "when will you get electricity?" "It depends upon the officials", is the reply. Or "where did you get the idea to dig compost pits?" "The Panchayat told us we had to . . . ." or "How did you get every villager to contribute?"—"Well, some pressure was brought to bear." So the villager traditionally has felt government to be power, and this reaction remains strong within him, as he reacts to the newer approach brought to them *via* the block. The dramatic attempt of community development in the block is to introduce the power of persuasion or the influence of knowledge of cause and consequence. The block contemplates a transformation in power structure—undertaking to effect the change by the "power of peace".

The problem of the conscientious official who accepts fully the goal of development by education is to divest himself of the manner and symbols of the representative of the ruler.   The block personnel have to seek to be teachers, organizers, persuaders, friends and counsellors, or they are not acting consistently with the beliefs, sentiments, ends and norms of the block.

When an old man prostrates himself before the B.D.O., the latter knocks him aside gruffly, saying,"We are equals now!"   Both parties are flustered, and go on quickly with the business of the moment.

Yet there are discouraged functionaries in the block, and it can be heard occasionally that "if farmers, after all the persuasion, will not improve their farming they should be required by government to conform to our recommendations or take the consequences".   These are the laggards or the disillusioned whose role has become disassociated from status and who seek uses of power inconsistent with block ends.

WHAT SANCTIONS APPEAR IN THE BLOCK?

With belief and sentiment organized around the ends of development, and in the matrices of status-role, rank and power, are there sanctions in the block for conformity or non-conformity with the norms?   What are the rewards of acceptable block behaviour, and what are the punishments for violation?   Again we encounter the difficulty of discussing each element as though it existed alone, whereas it has been only in the context of a systematic relation among all the elements, of each it is one.   In other words, some of what has to be said about sanctions has already been said.   Sanctions are present, indeed.   The outstanding Gram Sevak of the year is given a motor-cycle;   and on the other hand, one who effects a liaison with some village faction-leader is transferred; a B.D.O. who has done well may be rewarded by promotion out of development work and back into his own department; a B.D.O. whose strenuous efforts brought additional channel outlets sooner, thus averting crop failure, is rewarded by the loyalty and near-devotion of all the villagers.   The village which contributes shramdan or "voluntary" collections of money, or a patch of land, etc., is rewarded by grants from block funds.   The farmer who agrees to a demonstration on his land is rewarded with free fertilizer.   The man who didn't pay his last loan is penalized by rejection of his next application for a loan.

Rewards and punishments within a block, and relevant to its system of action lie, either chiefly in withholding or advancing grants,

helpful advice, praise, etc. For new agricultural practices there is a reward in higher yields, but the penalty for failure to change is not so apparent. In one village, the B.D.O. posted a woman Social Education Officer to whom the villagers objected declaring her *persona non grata*. The villagers say a year passed after this disagreement without their having another visit from the Gram Sevak ! (punishment!). In another village, the panchayat raised funds toward a school and so reported to the B.D.O.! Immediately they were given a matching grant, (reward!). So various sanctions are at hand to apply in villages. Gram Sevaks can be transferred peremptorily—as can officials above them. Sanctions of praise and spoken appreciation from superiors can be powerful rewards.

DOES THE BLOCK HAVE ITS OWN FACILITIES?

By this category we identify those socio-material features of a social system that are as integral to its being as the social psychological abstractions itemized in the foregoing essay. In a sense they are the means to the ends discussed above. Put most broadly, the facilities of a block are the natural resources of the villages, and the available technology of exploitation.

The territory of the block, being a physical thing, must be included among its facilities. Blocks are intended to include about one hundred villages, but the criteria for bounding them have not been standardized or consistently followed; many of them are much larger than the "standard" size. The areas of blocks have been variously determined with size—in space and population—a chief criterion. Whether or not there is sociologically a natural area has been largely ignored, and the wisdom of this has been questioned in evaluation reports. Similarly, whether or not there is identity with a previously recognized area of administration has been ignored or given secondary consideration. The wisdom of this has also been questioned. Expediency determined the bounding of blocks, and studies could well be made now of the differential relevance of size, relationships to other areas and units and other factors to results. If and when the block becomes a fully developed social system its area will be clearly identified as "belonging" to the block, and it will be distinguishable and marked off from other areas by signs, maps, and by the awareness of members and non-members.

Important among the facilities are also "block development" funds, available as incentive payment, matching funds, subsidy, grant, etc. Villages outside of blocks until now have lacked this important

facility.   More than 90 per cent of all development blocks in the coun-
try   had   postal   facilities ;   63   per cent had   telegraphic facilities
(September 1958).   Block members have a headquarters with some
office space, and probably one jeep and their personal bicycles for
transportation.   They may have a movie projector and one or two
items for visual aid.   The block headquarters, in fact, are among the
most conspicuous features of the Indian landscape now, and some of
them have become new villages.   In some blocks, quarters have been
built for the Gram Sevaks, but generally the villages contain no lodging
or boarding places, and Gram Sevaks claim hospitality for meals and
overnight rests.   Many Gram Sevaks have no facilities other than their
personal bicycles and bed rolls.   Most personnel in the blocks feel
needs for additional facilities for their work.

A representative "facilities-problem" that vexes block workers
is that of supply line—for commercial fertilizer, for improved seed, for
spray equipment, etc.   Another facilities problem emphasizes the
difficulty of co-ordinating developmental work with that of other units
of government.   This is illustrated by the problem of irrigation, vital
everywhere in India, and attended to by another department of
government.

There is continual striving to get more equipment, supplies for
demonstrations, constructions, etc. In the conspicuous effort of the
block to augment its facilities we find one of the most convincing evi-
dences of its existence as a social system.

CONCLUSION

The complex nature of the block has been only a little simplified
by this exploratory analysis of its character as a social system.   This
effort is perhaps more an exercise in sociology than an excursion into
public administration.   Perhaps it should be identified as political
sociology, or administrative sociology, but these fields are delimited
for heuristic rather than scientific reasons, and phenomena flow with-
in and across their borders in little regard for the habits of pedants.

For sociologists, the authors hope that this approach to the block
as a social system will provide a background against which many
research efforts may be formulated.   To students of public adminis-
tration we propose only that blocks which develop into social systems
will function more influentially in the total political structure than
blocks "on paper".

As in all instances of planned change one must anticipate that
there will be what Merton called the "unanticipated consequences".

The only way to prepare for results that cannot be foretold is to maintain a poised combination of firmness and flexibility that permits readjustment as new factors come into view.

The block, then, with the circles of villages in it, is a new organization, completely set-up by government, not yet completely formed as a social system, but well "on the way".

The territoriality of the block is in question—as to size and social ecology, and the facilities employed by the block in furtherance of its ends are changing in nature and in balance, as between money, subsidy, new technology, emphasis upon agriculture, educational materials for demonstration and teaching and similar considerations.

Consensus with respect to its ends is still to become settled; the chief pathology of the block, so far as ends are concerned, has been misuse of "targets" which have been said in some sense to have diverted attention from true goals, and fixing on means instead (the compost pit, rather than higher yields, for example).

The norms of behaviour in the block represent an aspiration of leadership in the new nation rather than a condition of full acceptance in the block social system. Teaching rather than coercion is being pushed, but has not yet come to predominate. "Needs" met are as likely to be the needs of the officials as of the villagers. Democratic participation develops slowly because the rank-and-file villagers are inexperienced in taking part and officials are inexperienced in trusting them with responsibility for action. To begin "where the people are" seems at times to be starting "too far back". Discussion has a hard time replacing formal debate or argument. Natural leaders represent caste or family groups and haven't yet a concept of overall village-community plus national responsibility. Planning programmes locally is a violation of old practices. Patience is hard to exercise when a young nation is eager. Social distinctions persist.

The generalized shift toward belief in progress is conspicuous in the blocks of Indian villages, apparently more so than in villages still out-of-block, but supporting sentiments are hardly yet developed. A hazard lies in the rapidity of change from acceptance of *status quo* to demand for progress. There is already a faith spreading in the block, almost mystically, in the efficacy of education, but even the block officials lack confidence in the power of persuasion. They still like power of office, but are gradually gaining confidence in the power of learning. Problems of rank and status are among the strongest deterrents to success. The hierarchical tradition in administration and the rigidity of caste in the village are being battered down

(or at least pounded a little) by the emerging new social structure, but they are the most stubbornly resistant of the elements in the block system. Economic development, increased income, and movement to industry eventually will lend strength to the forces of change here. The sanctions in the new block social system are not strong enough to accelerate change to the speed that planners and leaders desire. But when the block "arrives" as a fully developed social system it will no doubt be seen also as a new and basic unit of local government, at once child and parent of a strengthening democracy.

A FUNDAMENTAL APPROACH TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME*

Iqbal Narain

THE word administration is derived from the latin 'ministrare' which means to manage.[1] Administration, therefore, means the management or actual conduct of affairs. All human actions have to pass through three stages. First, there is the stage of resolution, when goals are fixed and objectives are defined. Motivated by certain ideals and interests, men individually or collectively set before themselves some goals and objectives. Secondly, there follows the stage of planning when a detailed plan is devised to realize these goals. It is here that an effort is made to find out the ways and means to reach the prescribed goals and to chalk out a plan of action. Lastly, there comes the stage of action, when actual steps are taken according to the plan of action to realize the prescribed goals in the form of positive achievements. This stage of action, which generally takes the form of co-operative endeavour,[2] as without it no large-scale achievement is possible, is what we technically understand by the term administration;[3] yet administration cannot be divorced from the objectives and the plan to realize them. For administration is essentially a scheme of means[4]—the mere servant of ends or policy which embodies both the objectives and the detailed plan to pursue them. The fact is that objectives, plan and administration act and react upon one another. If objectives determine the nature of planning and administration, these in turn prescribe the extent to which objectives can be realized.

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1. *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, ed. Sir James Murrey, Vol. I, Oxford, 1888, p. 117.

2. Herbert A. Simon Donald W. Smithburg, and Victor A. Thompson, *Public Administration*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1956, p.3: "When two men co-operate to roll a stone that neither could have moved alone, the rudiments of administration have appeared. This simple act has two basic characteristics of what has come to be called Administration. There is a *purpose*—moving the stone—and there is *co-operative action*, —several persons using combined strength to accomplish something that could not have been done without such a combination".

3. *Cf.* John A Vieg, *Elements of Public Administration*, ed. by Fritz Morstein Marx, New York, Prentice-Hall Inc., 1946, p. 3: "Administration is determined action taken in pursuit of conscious purpose".

4. *Cf.* John A Vieg: "Whether the sphere of interest be public or private, administration is always the servant of policy. Management—the largest part of administration—denotes means, and means have no significance except in terms of ends". (*Ibid*).

A discussion of the fundamental approach to the administration of rural community development programme[5] should, therefore, take into consideration (*a*) the nature and objectives of the rural community development programme, (*b*) its implications in terms of planning, and (*c*) its fundamentals in terms of administration.

THE CONCEPT, THE NATURE AND OBJECTIVES OF THE RURAL COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME[5]

The rural community development programme is a composite term—a fourfold concept.   We have to analyse the words that constitute it so as to get at the full implications of the concept.

'Rural' pertains to a village. One needs hardly offer an apology for thinking of community development primarily in terms of villages. For "ours is a world of village communities, of peasants and pastoralists who spend most of their lives within the small group of kith and kin, and whose values have their roots there."[6] For example, "India is a land of villages, because villages house 82% of her population."[7] We have, therefore, to begin with the question: "What is a village?" Without entering into the niceties of defining a village, one can agree with Phillips Ruopp, according to whom villages "are composed of groups of kith and kin, friends and relatives living together in the same place, sharing the same fundamental values, and participating in regular activities in which the frequency of personal encounter and inter-

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5. The Community D velopment Programme has been undertaken in a variety of ways and under differen names, such as "Community Education", "Social Programme", "Cultural Miss j", "Welfare Commissions", "Rural Centres", "Rural Social Centres", "Village ids" etc. (See Carl C. Taylor, "What is Community Development in Kurukshetra: *A Symposium on Community Development in India, 1952-55* (issued by the Publications Division, on behalf of the Community Project Administration, November 14, 1955, p. 31). In our own country, it operates through the National Extension Service Blocks and the Community Development Projects. Though at the risk of a digression, yet for the sake of clarity, these two media of rural community development may be distinguished from each other in these words of Shri V.T. Krishnamachari: "The N.E.S. is a permanent organization and will cover the whole country. It provides the basic organization—official and non-official—and minimum financial provision for development... N.E.S. blocks in which successful results have been achieved with the maximum popular co-operation are selected for intensive development for a period of three years. These are called Community Projects". (V.T. Krishnamachari: *Community Development in India*, New Delhi, The Publications Division, Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India, p. 10.)

It is for this reason that in the title the words *"Rural Community Development Programme"* have been deliberately chosen to keep the title at once broad and general without tagging it to the community development institutions or approaches of any particular country.

6. Phillips Ruopp, *Approaches to Community Development : A Symposium Introductory to Problems and Methods of Village Welfare in Under-developed Areas*, W. Van Hoeve Ltd., The Hague, Bandung, 1953, p. 1.

7. *Community Projects: A Draft Handbook* (issued by Community Project Administration, Planning Commission, Government of India, 1954, p. 137).

action is high. Common residence, common values and common activities—these form the tripod supporting the village community". [8] A village thus is essentially a homogeneous group of people among whom various barriers are artificial, even if seemingly strong, and the bond of corporate life is a tangible reality. Even in Indian villages where we do not have homogeneity in all its pristine purity owing to casteism and personal factions, assuming too often a legal form, a sense of corporate life and fundamental unity is not altogether missing. It is certainly latent and it has got to be roused to become an active working principle of life.

Now let us turn to the term *community*. The term community, of which the village is just a form, is a much debated term. If one were to indulge in over-simplification, one could say, in tune with the United Nations Report of the Mission on Community Organisation and Development in South and Southeast Asia that, "by a community we shall usually mean a number of people who, by virtue of living in a locality, may be presumed to have important interests in common". [9] The community is not, however, merely an area or the people living in an area. "It is", as observed by Sanderson and Polson, "rather a pattern of association or a common behaviour in which the people of the area participate to form a definite system of social interaction in which they play a part and by which they are more or less controlled." [10] On this criterion the learned authors have also defined a rural community : "A rural community is that form of association maintained between the people, and between their institutions, in a local area in which they live on dispersed farmsteads and in a village which is the centre of their common activities. The rural community is a locality group. It is composed of the people and their institutions which are located in a given geographical area; but, as is true of any group, the real community consists of the established relationships

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8. Phillips Ruopp, *op. cit.*, p.4.

Cf. Aristotle: *Politics,* (*tr.* Barker), Oxford, 1946, p.4:

"The most natural form of the village appears to be that of a colony or off-shoot from a family; and some have thus called the members of the village by the name 'sucklings of the same milk', or, again, of 'sons and the sons of sons". *Cf.* Alexis de Tocqueville: *Democracy in America,* Oxford, 1946, p. 56: "The village or township is the only association which is so perfectly natural that wherever a number of men are collected it seems to constitute itself."

9 *Report of the Mission on Community Organisation and Development in South and Southeast Asia,* United Nations, December 1953, p.3.

10. Dwight Sanderson and Robert A. Polson, *Rural Community Organisation,* New York, John Wiley and Sons, 1939, p. 50.

Cf. Lloyd Allen Cook, *Community Backgrounds of Education,* New York, Mc. Graw-Hill Book Co., 1938, p. 27: "A Community is a population aggregate, inhabiting a contiguous territory, integrated through common experience, possessing a number of basic service institutions, conscious of its local unity and able to act in a corporate capacity."

which are recognized by them as more or less controlling their beha-
viour or psychic interaction between the people and between their
institutions within a local area."[11] It is thus obvious that community,
whether rural or urban, is not a mere geographical entity or a mathema-
tical proposition—so many people living adjacent to one another in
one and the same area. It is a subtler and a deeper concept, more
qualitative than quantitative, more spiritual and psychological than
the mere fact of physical existence of a number of people in a contigu-
ous area. The concept of a community does not postulate '*living*'
but '*living together*', not the '*individual self*' of man but his *social self;*
not so much diversity of life, interest, thought and action as their unity,
not the pursuit of one's own ends, single-handed and irrespective of the
social good but joint endeavour to promote common good with a sense
of social responsibility.[12] Community thus signifies not atomistic
existence of men but their integrated and corporate life, with all the
intricate and endless threads of relationships, problems of behaviouris-
tic pattern and moral norms that it involves. As observed by Brown-
ell, "The community is less an attribute of some function or interest...
than an integral whole which is organic in structure, limited in size,
concrete in context, substantive in syntax."[13] One cannot, therefore,
glibly talk of community development as a political slogan because it
involves not merely material or economic development, but also deve-
lopment at such higher and subtler levels as moral, ethical, intellec-
tual and psychological. It is also equally certain that owing to the
subtler aspects of life that a community development programme has
to take note of, its administration on proper lines becomes a difficult,
intriguing and at the same time a very important problem.

Let us now turn to the third constituent of the title *i.e.,* '*Develop-
ment*'. The term '*development*' as associated with community brings
to our mind several ideas. First, development is to be distinguished
from change. A change may be sudden and artificial as opposed to
natural, while development is gradual and part of a natural process
almost organic in nature. Development thus is the slow but spontane-
ous sprouting of seeds into flower and fruit trees or the long, tedious

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11. Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.,* p. 50.

12. *Cf.* Phillips Ruopp: *op. cit.,* pp. 4-5: "The word community is charged with
ambiguity; its associations and meanings are many and subtle. It is not only the attri-
bute of every group brought together by the fusion of certain integrative forces such as
shared locality and shared interests. It is also something to be achieved, such as the
national community or the world community. For it is at the same time a descriptive
and normative concept. It is as much an 'ought' as an 'is'...... The chief virtue of the
concept of community is that it emphasizes the qualitative aspect of human development
rather than the quantitative. It properly subordinates the quantitative to the qualitative."

13. Baker Brownell, *The Human Community,* New York, Harper & Bros., 1950,
p. 269.

and wearisome growth of a child from infancy to adolescence and from adolescence to youth. There is thus no short cut to development. It has to be a long process, if the growth is to be organic, natural and stable. The more the area of backwardness to be covered, the longer is the process of development in terms of time and magnitude. The rural communities in India as in all the under-developed countries are very backward. The process of their development has, therefore, to be both slow and long.

Secondly, development is a conscious changeover for the better; it is, therefore, a rationally argued and scientifically planned scheme of gradual social change in terms of well-defined development targets. Development thus is essentially purposive—a scheme of means for the realization of something better, healthier and more desirable in terms of human well-being and progress. As observed by Phillips Ruopp, "social development, as distinct from social change, is the purposive alteration of conditions. Development signifies change from something thought to be less desirable to something thought to be more desirable. It further signifies and emphasises the rational direction of human organization and skill towards the attainment of the desirable. Development, then, is purposive and purpose in human affairs is moulded by individual and social values. But development, like community, does not justify itself. It can be justified only by its purpose. Although it is true that ends are present in means, development is essentially a means to the ends determined by a society's system of values."[14]

Thirdly, development is essentially a multi-purpose term, more so in the context of a rural community. This is so in three ways. In the first place, community development has to take into account the development of both the individual and the community because they act and re-act on each other; they help and supplement each other's growth. "The community is not prior to the individual nor the individual to the community. They are concomitants one of the other. There is no community rebirth, no community development where individuals remain unreborn. There can be no justice for the community and no communal fulfilment unless there is justice and fulfilment for individuals. The community may not depend on John Jones or George Smith for its existence and health, though it is physically and morally diminished by their death and desertion. It does depend on individuals who share a common life."[15] In the second place, development has to be over-all, integrated and complete. It should not aim at developing the partial self of man but his complete self, not one aspect of the life

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14. Phillips Ruopp, *op. cit.,* pp. 16-17.
15. *Ibid.,* p. 14.

of the community but all its aspects.[16]   It has to be a *multi-purpose*
scheme of development of the community in all its aspects—social,
economic, political, educational and even moral and psychological.
The various aspects of the life of the community are so interdependent
that they cannot be developed in isolation and development of each,
if taken up as part of an integrated scheme, contributes to the develop-
ment of all its other aspects.   In the case of a rural community this
integrated or *multi-purpose* approach to development is all the more
essential as the rural communities by and large are under-developed
not in one particular aspect of life but in all aspects almost equally.
As observed by the Report of the Mission on Community Organisa-
tion and Development in South and Southeast Asia, "At the national
level, as well as in community projects, there is need for a balanced
or integrated or multi-purpose approach.   Properly conceived com-
munity programmes will contribute to overall improvement."[17]   In
the third place, the rural community development should involve a
strengthening of the community ideal.   The ideal of the rural com-
munity development is not merely to re-generate people materially,
educationally and politically but also to regenerate them 'communally'
(*i.e.* as a community).   It should integrate people in thought, feeling
and action and thus awaken and vitalize the community sentiment,
making them develop a community identity[18] with common outlook,
spirit, opinions and loyalties, a sense of co-operation and partnership

16.   Morris Ginsberg has suggested the following three criteria of development:
(1) the growth of man's control over the conditions of life *i.e.*, his natural environment,
his society and himself, (2) the growth of co-operation within and between societies, and
(3) the growth of freedom in co-operative relationships.   His point of emphasis is "If,
however, development is understood as consisting in a process whereby a full realization
or fulfilment of human capacities is gradually attained, that society might be regarded
as most developed which evokes the most spontaneous devotion to common ends
among its members and releases the greatest fund of intelligent energy". (*Vide: Reason
& Unreason in Society,* London, Longmans, Green & Co., 1947, pp. 32-33).

17.   *Report of the Mission on Community Organisation and Development in South
and Southeast Asia, op. cit.,* p. 13.

The Report has emphasized the necessity of a *multi-purpose approach* in these words:
"The primary requirement is to increase income so that more consumers' good can be
bought and the community can provide for itself more and better communical services—
village amenities, health, education and so on.   The main need here, of course, is to
improve agriculture. Indeed, the national pressure to become self-sufficient in food
requirements is the main origin of multi-purpose community development.   But it is also
recognised that increased agricultural production, a necessary foundation for the extension
of national services, cannot be brought about on any scale unless the twin obstacles of
disease and ignorance are simultaneously attacked. It may be futile as we have observed in
some areas to introduce improved seed, manure and cultural practices until irrigation is
provided; but the full benefits of irrigation require the introduction of these things as
well.   Sometimes irrigation brings malaria with it so that a malaria control programme
is required".   (*Ibid.,* p. 19).

18.   *Cf.* William M.C. Dougall, *The Group Mind,* New York, G.P. Putnam's Sons,
1926, p. 206: "Individual minds become more completely integrated in proportion as they
achieve a full self-consciousness, in proportion as the idea of the self becomes rich in
content and the nucleus of a strong sentiment generating impulse that control and over-
ride impulses of all other sources."

in all walks of life and a passion for community welfare and development through vigorous community effort which should become a matter of habit rather than something imported and enforced.[19]   If on the contrary the tissues of community life get weakened during the process of development, the concept of rural community development would become a contradiction in terms.

Fourthly, the *multi-purpose* approach makes the task of community development a gigantic affair, which can, therefore, not be taken up as governmental project even by the most resourceful and competent of the world governments.   The rural community development programme has, therefore, to be organized very largely on the basis of the *principle of self-help*.   The idea that the community should help itself in a co-operative endeavour to effect its own all-round development is thus inherent in the very concept of community development. It may also be emphasized here that self-development is not only the best but is also the only real development.   What is that development in which the object of development remains inert and passive and does not cultivate initiative, self-reliance and self-help even in the process of development ?   Obviously, therefore, the cultivation of initiative, self-reliance and self-help is at once the inherent end and the only method of the rural community development.   Thus the rural community development should largely be a development of the entire community by the entire community.   All members of the community—children, both boys and girls, young men and women, old folk of both sexes, educated and illiterate persons, peasants and artisans, labourers, both skilled and unskilled, teachers and the students—should pool their resources together and combine with their heart and soul in this great adventure of self-development.   This is what the U.N. Report means when it says that the "programme should aim to

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19.   This is what a sociologist would call the process of *socialization* which has been ably described by Dr. E.W. Burgess as follows:—

"The socialization of the person consists in his all round participation in the thinking, the feeling, and the activities of the group.   In short, socialization is 'personality freely unfolding under conditions of healthy fellowship.'   Society viewed from this aspect is an immense co-operative concern for the promotion of personal development. But social organization is not the end of socialization; the end and function of socialization is the development of persons.   The relation is even closer; personality consists, almost wholly, in socialization, in the mental interaction of the person and his group. The person is coming to realize that, in achieving his interests, he must at the same time achieve functional relations with all other persons.   In this achieving of right relations with his fellows, in this capacity of fitting, 'into an infinitely refined and complex system of co-operation', the development of personality consists".   (*Vide*: Ernest W. Burgess, *The Function of Socialization in Social Evolution*, Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1916, pp. 236-237.)

In fact Sanderson and Polson consider this aspect of community development as criterion of its success: "One measure of community organization is the degree to which organizations and interest are willing to co-operate in activities of the common welfare for which they are not primarily responsible and in which others will take the lead."   (*Vide*: Sanderson and Polson, *op. cit.*, p. 83).

be multi-focussed. Success in a programme is likely to be greater, if it is recognized that different sections of the people can contribute to it."[20] No one is superfluous in the schemes of the rural community development; all are equally useful, important and hence indispensable. It has to be noted, however, that the community development at least in its initial stage will be *largely but not exclusively by the community* itself. The Government of the day has to play a positive and significant role which we shall discuss later. It is not enough that the rural community development should be *multi-focussed:* it should be, as the U.N. Report correctly stresses, *multi-processed* also.[21] It hardly needs an explanation because an approach to a *multi-purpose* scheme has necessarily to be *multi-processed.* Education in the ethics and art of community development, persuasion by an appeal to the social conscience of the community, compulsion in the form of law, precept enlivened with practice, theory illustrated with example, are some of the general facets of the *multi-processed* approach.

It is time now to turn to the last word in the title *i.e.,* 'Programme'. It stands for a scheme with distinct objectives, plan of action and directives about its operative details.

To sum up : the concept of rural community development postulates :—

(1) That it is an attempt at developing a sizable section of people who are basically homogeneous, bound to one another by common interest, similar modes of life and outlook and a common

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20. *Ibid.,* p. 21. Illustrating the point, the Report continues, "The primary social and economic unit is the family, and the strength of this unit will be enhanced and its effectiveness in promoting self-help increased, if a programme takes account of all its members, and not simply of the head of the household. Women may contribute to family income, if trained in spare time occupations. If they are shown better stoves and taught the rudiments of nutrition, the comfort of the home and the nutritional value of the food consumed are more likely to be improved than if efforts are concentrated on the farmer as producer; and the best way to encourage production of food in the garden or on the farm to give a more balanced diet, or encourage better sanitary practice, is often to persuade the women. Women normally control the purse strings—within limits, so that some guidance in home economics will make for better spending of slender incomes. Parents may be stimulated to action through their children. This is a key element in the approach to rural betterment of community schools in the Philippines. Women may be persuaded to make improvements for the sake of their children which would be neglected otherwise—and in any case we are interested in a continuing process, the success of which in the future depends much on the young people and children of today." (*Ibid.,* p. 21).

21. *Ibid* p. 21. Illustrating the point, the Report continues, "The need for education, in the sense of both persuasion and showing 'how' is apparent enough. It is also apparent that many different techniques of education must be used to reinforce each other or for different groups or purposes· This need not be enlarged upon. But to awaken perception of needs or train skills is seldom sufficient. Supplies of necessary equipment, fertilizers, seed, DDT and so on of the right kind must be available at the right time. People must be organized to perform the activities for which education and supplies have prepared them. Frequently the law must be revised to remove obstacles or provide the necessary powers or opportunities. So we are concerned with manifold processes directed to manifold and interrelated objectives". (*Ibid*).

area which they inhabit and hence having a sense of corporate life and mutual loyalties;

(2) That the development herein aimed at is *multi-purpose* in the sense of all-sided and all-round development that treats of life in the community as an integrated whole and, therefore, seeks to improve all its aspects—individual, social, economic, hygienic, political, educational, moral and even psychological;

(3) That one of the important aspects of the *multi-purpose* development of the rural community is the strengthening of the communal bond, making the people realize themselves as a community, and as partners in the great adventure of self-development;

(4) That as a result of this *multi-purpose* approach the task of development becomes gigantic and, therefore, slow and steady;

(5) That the complete process of development thus visualized has to be a co-operative endeavour—at once official and non-official, more and growingly non-official than official;

(6) That by and large people's participation is at once the aim and salutary method of rural community development; and

(7) That the process of rural community development has at once to be *multi-focussed*, harnessing all sections of the community and *multi-processed*, employing all devices suited to the objective, educational, moral, legal, recreational and so on.[22]

(*To be continued in the next issue*)

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22. The concept of rural community development has been variously analysed. Phillips Ruopp is of the opinion that "Community development, in which reciprocity, intimacy and unanimity are central should be the beginning and end of all large-scale programmes of economic and technical assistance. It is in the nature of community development that it must come from within through the greatest possible participation of the people in accordance with needs determined by their values, relying on persuasion rather than compulsion and mediating with the needs of region, nation and world." (Phillips Ruopp, *op. cit., p. 20*)

According to the U.N. Mission Report, "We...consider...the multi-purpose community programme is an application of the principles of extension education to rural betterment and increased production. But agricultural extension is often restricted in meaning to the extension of technique specifically related to production with special emphasis on the wider application of the results of scientific research. The community project is a particular form of organisation and administration of extension education, which concerns itself to a greater extent than is usual in the west with the organisation of supply and promoting rural organisations for self-help activities, such organisation being, in effect, integrated into the administrative system. The community project is also an agency for the provision of services such as health and general education, usually provided outside the extension system in western countries and the co-ordination of such services with agricultural extension in an integrated programme. So for reasons inherent in economic and social conditions the connotation is wider than the usual connotation of agricultural extension." (*Vide: Report, op. cit.,* p. 19).

According to Sanderson and Polson's brilliant analysis, "the aim of community organisation is to develop relationships between groups and individuals that will enable them to act together in creating and maintaining facilities and agencies through which

they may realise their highest values in the common welfare of all members of the community." (Sanderson and Polson. *op. cit.*, p. 76). The learned authors emphasize upon the fact that the specific objectives of community organisation are : to obtain consciousness of community identity; to satistfy unmet wants; to obtain social participation as a means of socialization; to obtain social control; to co-ordinate groups and activities; to preserve the community from the introduction of undesirable influences or conditions; to co-operate with other communities and agencies to obtain common needs; to establish a means of obtaining consensus; and to develop leadership. (*Ibid.*, pp. 77-83.)

According to Carl C. Taylor "Community Development......is used only to describe the methods by which the people who live in local villages or communities become involved in helping to inspire their own economic and social conditions and thereby become effective working groups in programmes of national developments. The term community development programmes is used to describe only those administrative plans and operational procedures which implement community development objectives." (*Kurukshetra*, *op. cit.*, p. 32).

Lastly it will not be out of place to turn to the Indian scene. According to the First Five Year Plan, "Community Development is the method and Rural Extension the agency through which the Five Year Plan seeks to initiate a process of transformation of the social and economic life of the villages." (*Vide*: The First Five Year Plan, p. 223). In order to evolve a programme to give effect to this principle, three distinguishable aspects should be recognised:

(1) Introduction of the National Extension Service as the permanent agency in the rural areas with the block as the unit for planning and development.

(2) Promotion of community development as the method for:

    (*i*) Achieving unity of thinking and action, between all official agency, the people's agency and the people ;

    (*ii*) Transformation in the social and economic outlook of the people chiefly through village organization, *e.g.*, panchayats, co-operatives, youth clubs and mahila mandals; and

    (*iii*) intensive area development based on multi-purpose approach.

(3) A programme that consolidates and reinforces the agency and 'the method' and seeks to promote all aspects of rural life such as will become the normal pattern of the welfare state in action. (V.T. Krishnamachari, *Community Development in India, op. cit.,* Appendix III, pp. 52-53.)

Clifford H. Wilson has well put the contents of Community Development Programme in India in these words "The Community Project Programme in India is a complex of many efforts in agriculture, health, education, social services and other ways; yet in a broad sense it is only the giving of opportunity in full confidence that India's rural citizens will take advantage of that opportunity" (*Vide*: *Kurukshetra, op. cit.*, p.17)

POTENTIALS FOR PUBLIC-ADMINISTRATION RESEARCH IN INDIA

Phillips Bradley

THE future of public-administration research in India is a challenging topic for practitioner and academician alike. As is the case in other countries, India is perhaps at the threshold of significant advances in analysing the administrative process "in depth." Although many excellent studies, official and unofficial, are available on different aspects of administration at all levels of government, some strike the reader as more descriptive than analytical, more formal and traditional than genuinely interdisciplinary. This situation exists, in fact, in many countries and as to most studies in this area of human action.

India is, however, fortunate in several ways as to pushing back the frontiers of research in public administration. First, it has a broader field to survey. The expansion of public enterprises, which is the avowed policy of the Government, opens up areas of administration not usually thought of as public in a country like the U.S. The "yardsticks" of appraisal can, therefore, include wider aspects and considerations than in some other countries.

Second, several broad-guage studies, such as the Gorwala and Appleby Reports, have indentified problems, indicated difficulties, suggested lines of action as to various aspects of public administration. These studies have been complemented by numerous studies of the administrative process in functional areas or in governmental units by both public and private agencies and by scholars. Together, they form a rich resource for further research, analytical as well as descriptive.

Third—and not least important—India has developed a significant research potential in this field in the Indian Institute of Public Administration and in the similar if less inclusive institutes at Lucknow and Patna. The growing number of university programmes in the field supplement these more concentrated institutes and provide an important base for research, individual and co-operative, among scholars and students of public administration. Neither personnel nor materials are lacking for a significant research advance. What, then, are some of the major directions of the advance?

THE GOVERNMENTAL PROCESS

India is both a federal state and a parliamentary government. Its civil services operate at three levels of administration: local, State, and Centre. They function in particular relations with the elected representatives at these levels.[1] The inter-relationships involved on the one hand, purely administrative and, on the other, administrative-political, suggest a significant area for further analysis. A series of "case" studies of particular relations in the different contexts noted would almost certainly yield new insights into the actualities of administrative behaviour and attitudes.

These studies might well be initiated within each of the three levels of government. More information about behaviour and attitudes might well be collected in the first instance in the framework of "single" situations. The more subtle aspects of inter-relationships would undoubtedly be revealed and thus more complex studies "in depth" would emerge as new areas for analysis. With the present wide distribution geographically of scholars (as well as of research agencies), this type of study on a concentrated basis should provide, within four or five years, a useful body of new information and insight.

A different approach to the governmental process in administration may be identified as functional. There is in India an extraordinarily wide range of governmental organization—designed to perform a variety of functions. The "old-line" agencies are organized on traditional patterns found in all governments. The purely public enterprises and the public-private partnerships are probably more widely developed or projected in India than in any democratic country. How administration is conducted in these different types of organization offers a wide range of opportunity, first, for detailed description and, second, for analytical comparison.[2] The whole spectrum of public and semi-public enterprises, Centre and State, needs detailed analysis of organization and operating procedures. Comparative studies of the working relations of these agencies to the Government and to the people's representatives in Parliament and the state legislatures would raise many theoretical considerations for further analysis.

THE ADMINISTRATIVE PROCESS

Within these broader boundaries of administrative organization

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1. *See,* for instance, *Hindustan Times* (May 18, 1959), for discussion of this question at the local level in Rajasthan.

2. The recent publication of the I.I.P.A. *'Organisation of the Government of India'* (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1958) is a significant pioneer description of Central administration. It might well serve as a model for similar studies at the State and local levels.

and procedure lie many more focussed areas for detailed analysis. On the one hand a comprehensive study of functional agencies— from top to bottom—would provide the basis for many new types of comparative analysis.[3] These studies might well include the operation of the different agencies not only at the Centre but as to their State and local units and as to their inter-governmental relations. Such functions, for instance, as taxation and tax-collection, community development, welfare programmes, or irrigation are only some of those in which both internal and inter-level administrations might be fruitfully explored.

On the other hand, many opportunities for individual and comparative analysis exist within agencies. Any of the formal subjects of public administration, such as Personnel or O & M, provides a springboard for more intensive study of their operation and effects. Take, for example, the comparative clearance of "actions" within different agencies. Little is known, outside official circles, at least, as to the flow of paperwork in different agencies or at different levels of government. Constant criticisms of delay in one agency or another appear in legislative debates and in the press. What are the causes —and the cures? Objective analysis, not alone by the responsible units in the agencies but by experts drafted from outside, might well yield new insights and provide the basis for improvement.

It is certainly unnecessary to catalogue here an index of programmatic studies of the administrative process in India. Many governmental agencies are conducting their own research into their operating procedures. A few scholars are at work on different aspects of the field; more will undoubtedly turn their attention to public administration in the years ahead. The areas and topics requiring analysis will emerge from the day-to-day operations of the whole range of functional activities undertaken at all levels. They will be identified by experience of government in action. One or two areas may, however, be noted because they may suggest inquiries along somewhat different lines.

One is at the opposite relational end from the legislative: the judicial. The legislation creating many agencies provides for internal quasi-judicial review as well as for judicial review of administrative determinations. Other legislation creates what amount to administrative courts (such as the Labour Tribunals). Experience with the operation of both types of quasi-judicial review since Independence is now sufficient to provide a substantial body of research materials as

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3. Again the projected I.I.P.A. series on selected central agencies will provide a useful start in this direction. It will need to be expanded to other agencies at the Centre and also to State and local levels.

to this aspect of administration. The procedural as well as the substantive side of these agencies deserves careful analysis to determine their relative effectiveness from many viewpoints, from protection of the civil rights of the parties to expeditiousness of decision. Comparative studies at the Centre and in the States are both feasible and highly pertinent.[4]

The second area which may be noted is a universal problem in both public and private administration: the relations between "line" and "staff". On this question there is much literature, pragmatic and theoretical, from the experience of many countries. Without attempting here to reconcile conflicting theories, every top administrator sooner or later confronts the issue of how to integrate these two aspects of his job—and of his team. As administration of a particular function becomes more complex or is allocated additional responsibilities, the staff side seems almost inevitably to outrun its line. If nothing more is involved, the establishment of effective working relations between these two essential groups—in any organization— absorbs much of the chief's time and energy. Careful analysis of line-staff relations in a variety of agencies at all levels of government would no doubt provide useful insights into the problem today in India. They might well point to areas where both economy and efficiency might be enhanced.

RESEARCH TOOLS

Research in the various aspects of public administration just noted—and many others—involves no special "mysteries". All the social-science research tools applicable to a particular problem are available as they may be relevant. Many problems are, for instance, susceptible of statistical analysis; others may be most effectively explored by descriptive techniques, historical or contemporary.

THE CASE METHOD

One tool, the case method, is widely used and significantly useful today in studying the decision-making process in public administration. Although its origin lies far back in the history of medicine and law, it is now at work in other areas, notably in business management for about forty years and, more recently, public administration.

Without attempting to describe or evaluate its techniques or uses in detail, there is a substantial body of public-administration case

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4. The Indian Law Institute is also interested in this field. Co-operation between that Institute and the I.I.P.A. would undoubtedly produce more significant studies than either working alone.

materials available, especially from U.S. experience. The Inter-University Case Programme (I.C.P.) now includes over 30 university members. The I.C.P. develops its materials from "live" sources—the participants in particular administrative situations being analysed—rather than primarily from written records. Records of all types, from files to newspaper accounts and official publications, are, of course, utilized. They provide ancillary materials by which to check or supplement the participants' data or memory of events.

In its nearly 15 years' experience, the I.C.P. has developed well over 60 cases relating to many facets of public administration at all levels of government in the U.S. So far, the effort has been to cover a variety of situations rather than to concentrate on a few areas of administration. Diversity in treatment as well as in subject-matter is evident from a perusal of I.C.P. cases. Already, however, students of the field are beginning to examine the possibilities of research on the case materials (as has long been possible in business management, where many more cases have been developed). Systematic review of comparative case materials, in order to extract generalization and hypotheses, is clearly a next step in public-administration research in the U.S. As the body of materials increases, research on the research underlying individual cases become increasingly possible. Transfer of case-study scope and method from one administrative milieu to another is considerably more fruitful than transporting a body of case-materials findings across national or cultural boundaries. Materials unrelated to the conditions, structures, traditions, work-ways, of an administrative system will be of little academic or pragmatic research relevance. What is needed, therefore, is importation, not of the substance but of the process of the case method. How might the use of the case method in analysing public administration in India be accelerated?

Some Conditions for a Case Programme

First, of course, several conditions essential to the development of case materials must exist—or be created. Among them are: willingness of administrators to subject their past actions to clinical review, and availability of sufficient data, from written or oral records, to provide a clear picture of a situation. Unless these two conditions are met, few useful case materials—beyond a collection of perhaps helpful "readings"—will emerge. Confidentiality of public records is, of course, a requirement in all governments. Past, even recent past, situations need not, however, necessarily be cloaked for ever in anonymity. In many situations, moreover, reasonable anonymity can be preserved. Once the objectives of case-development are understood, the limits of confidentiality can be both respected and restricted.

Collection of good "case" situations and collection of the relevant data becomes, therefore, largely a matter of the administrator's acceptance of responsibility for his historical actions and of the case reporter's good sense and discretion. This possibility does not seem beyond the range of attainable goals for public-administration research in India today.

A second requirement for developing a public administration case programme is an adequate plan. The I.I.P.A. and its sister institutes can provide the framework for a case-collection plan. Their staff are competent to blueprint a plan which would make possible rapid development of a wide variety of case materials at all levels of government from many regions in India. With their colleagues in other institutions and in governmental agencies, a workable programme could be established rather quickly and, no doubt, many useful case situations identified.

A third condition is the necessity of training case-collectors. In many situations, senior instructors (or government officers) would no doubt collect the essential materials. As the programme expanded, new personnel might be required—and would need preliminary instruction and in-service experience under supervision. Here, again, the I.I.P.A. and its sister institutes are available, if and when required.

RESEARCH TRAINING AS A TOOL

It is unnecessary to detail the various usable tools for research in public administration. The value of training in research methods—in all the social sciences—may, however, be noted. Many training projects are already in being in India; governmental agencies as well as academic institutions are evolving more or less comprehensive "courses" of this type. It is generally recognized that, in whatever specialized field with however limited essential techniques a research worker is engaged, he should be at least acquainted with the whole kit of the social scientist's research tools. Thus, a generalized course in research methods seems desirable, including whatever specific emphasis a particular field may require.

Might not the I.I.P.A. and similar academic foci initiate a concentrated and co-operative approach to training for research in public administration? A small conference or working committee of "experts" in research techniques as well as in public administration could establish at least the broad outlines of a syllabus for a training course. If the common elements were identified, and the special aspects for particular emphasis of public-administration research

defined, the syllabus would prove useful in advancing research metho-dology throughout India. It would prove useful not only to acade-mic students of but to the practitioners in the field. The quality of the research product would, moreover, almost certainly be improved as commonly accepted procedures for particular types of study were more generally applied.

THE FRONTIERS OF RESEARCH

One prerequisite for effective research in public administration, as in other fields, has become increasingly evident over the past quarter century : the interdisciplinary approach to problems. The fields of public-administration research noted earlier, as of many not men-tioned, have, in the past been analysed by specialists trained primarily in a single discipline (predominantly political science). This tendency has been deeply rooted in all countries in the academic tradition and practice of dividing knowledge into conventional "packages" for more convenient and detailed analysis.

Efficient as this tradition and practice may be as the basis for a university curriculum, it does not any longer meet the conditions or complexities of contemporary society. Life—and public adminis-tration is no exception—does not "behave" this way. Only the most routine aspects of any operating system, economic, political, or social, can be conveniently compartmentalized in this way. Even routine aspects of a given field, moreover, soon throw up many apparently irrelevant, often intractable, facts which, like "human relations", complicate if they do not frustrate the routines. In the higher levels of action, especially wherever decisions have to be taken, the intricacies and inter-relationships of the situation are likely to be of primary concern to the administrator. He is too often, however, unacquainted with other approaches to the problem than those falling in the area of his own training and experience—is, indeed, often unaware of their existence.

It is, of course, impracticable for a single individual to acquire sufficient specialized knowledge in several fields to equip him as an expert in all. Nor does he need to. Economy and efficiency in the use of expertise from all the relevant fields suggests that a diversified team will often be more effective than the single specialist. In analys-ing a complex problem (and few problems in public administration are simple), an interdisciplinary approach will generally prove more illuminating, and so, more useful.

All the social sciences have made contributions to research in public administration: political science, law, history (for comparative

studies in time), and sociology (from Max Weber to the present) have provided usable research perspectives as well as new tools for the researcher. These traditional disciplines have, however, been too often isolated from one another in the planning and execution of research design—and in training for public service. This compartmentalization of approach has been even more true, until recently, as to the use of the so-called "behavioural sciences," chiefly anthropology and psychology.

It would go beyond the limits of this paper to explore in detail the contributions which these newer disciplines are making to social-science research in general. Their utility for research in public administration is real—if so far too little recognized or applied. Administration, public or private, at all levels is concerned with the behaviour and responses of small and large groups, with the operation of boards and commissions, with diverse human reactions to hierarchy and discipline. Nor are some of the existing action areas of public administration devoid of behavioural implications. The operation of public corporations, the impact of industrialization and automaton on new societies and regions, the "explosion" of metropolitanism, for instance, require analysis of the human factors involved in alternative public policies. The list can, of course, be almost indefinitely extended.

THE TEAM APPROACH

Too frequently in the past—in all countries—public policies in such areas have been shaped only to fail, because of the neglect (generally from ignorance rather than intent) of the implicit human factors. It is just here that the newer "behavioural" disciplines can make a major contribution to both practice and research in public administration. What is needed is a closer integration of all the relevant disciplines—at the appropriate points in planning and executing research, as well as in policy in action.

Several aspects of integration may be noted. First, the problem of communication among specialists in the different disciplines seems to become more rather than less acute, as each discipline becomes more refined. Each develops a language of its own—often almost incomprehensible to the uninitiated. Perhaps the solution lies at two levels. First, the student of public administration should be introduced during his training to a broader understanding of the scope and techniques of all the social sciences. Training should include at least a working knowledge of their major findings and of their special analytical tools and procedures. A second need is to reintroduce him periodically to the advances made in each. Whether he is in public or private

employment or in university teaching and research, he should have access to "refresher" services (*e.g.* short courses). The utility of this kind of updating of knowledge is a commonplace in medicine. Is there any reason why it should not be in public administration?

A second aspect of integration lies in the area of research design and execution. Here, the "team approach" seems highly relevant to promoting more effective public-administration research. Here, too, the start might well be made at the training level—and particularly in research-methods training. Any course in research methods would be enriched by including staff from all the relevant disciplines in its design and conduct. When specific research projects are under consideration—in government no less than in the university—mobilizing all the relevant social-sciences disciplines at the start will often prove useful. The planning of a research project is likely to be more fruitful if all the specialists who will ultimately be required are a part of the team from the start. The same consideration applies, of course, to the team which will conduct the research. If some specialist is brought into the project as an afterthought, when the need for his expertise becomes evident, neither his contribution nor his attitude to the project will be so positive.

These comments may suggest ways in which the scope as well as the conduct of public-administration research can be broadened. As the newer "behavioural" sciences are brought into play, the frontiers of research in public administration will be extended in two ways. First, in some of the traditional areas of public administration, the "depth" of research will be enhanced as few facets of old problems are examined. Second, new research areas will emerge, as the techniques and generalizations of these newer disciplines are focussed on practical problems such as those noted above (metropolitanism and the like).

NEXT STEPS

Two further points may be noted as to the frontiers of research in public administration. First, there is already in existence a considerable body of research reports on different aspects of Indian administration. The number of reports is steadily expanding—at almost a geometric rate. Would it not be useful to make a concerted analysis of the scope, methodology, and findings of the existing literature—as a basis for planning future areas of research? Much insight into the ecology of Indian administration would no doubt result. Further, knowledge of the more effective procedures, as well as of the gaps needing further analysis, would emerge. Areas in which studies of

identical situations, structures, procedures, overtime would be useful would be identified. A historical and analytical study of the existing Indian literature might well turn out to be a research project of major utility—for the future.

Second, would not a broadly based committee on public-administration research prove useful? Experience with the former Public Administration Committee of the Social Science Research Council, the Public Administration Clearing House, and the I.C.P. in the U.S., indicates that some kind of central agency for planning research cannot only suggest new directions but stimulate research activity. The Government of India is already well equipped with tools for co-ordinated research planning and execution. The Planning Commission itself, with its Research Programme Committee and other panels, provides this kind of focus within the Government. The UNESCO Research Centre at Calcutta, although responsible for a wider area than India, is an important potential clearing house. Numerous specialized social-science research institutes exist in India; their contributions to public-administration research can be substantial. Finally, the I.I.P.A. and its sister institutes, as well as other university specialists in the field, form a nucleus at the core of the subject.

Could these groups somehow be brought into closer working relations, on a continuing basis, advances in public-administration research would certainly be accelerated. Here, the I.I.P.A. might well take the initiative, first, in forming a representative committee on research programming and, second, in organizing periodic conferences on public-administration research. The committee would certainly be useful to university researchers in indicating work in progress and developing new areas for co-operative (interdisciplinary and inter-university) research. The conference would serve the same ends and also provide a forum for discussing broader questions, such as Government-University co-operation, training, methodology, long-range objectives. It would, at the least, bring together the most interested specialists and facilitate communication among them.[5]

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This brief survey of the research potential in public administration in India today should not, of course, be considered an adequate

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5. An incisive analysis of the present state of public-administration research in the U.S. will suggest many further possibilities in India. *See* Mosher, F.C., "Research in Public Administration: Some Notes and Suggestions," 16th Public Administration Review (1956), p. 169. Dwarkadas, R., in "Scope of Research in Indian Public Administration" in his book, *March of Public Administration*, (Hyderabad, Book-Mandir, *n. d.*) suggests many useful "next steps".

blueprint for the future. It is intended only to suggest some lines, substantive and procedural, along which advances might be made. Those engaged in ongoing research, in planning its strategy and tactics in government at all levels as well as in the universities and specialized institutes, are its best architects. How they adapt their own experience and that gleaned from other countries to the public-administration research goals of India will determine the blueprint.

SOME PROBLEMS OF TRAINING IN THE BRITISH CIVIL SERVICE*

A. J. Platt

WHAT I propose to do in this talk is, first of all, to sketch in the background of training in the British Civil Service and then to talk about that training under two aspects—training in particular skills and training in management.

ASSHETON REPORT

Training in the British Civil Service in its present form stems very largely from what we call the Assheton Report. This was the report of a Committee on the training of Civil Servants set up under the Chairmanship of the Financial Secretary of the time, Sir Ralph Assheton, now Lord Clitheroe. The Committee was set up in the following circumstances. During the war a large number of Civil Servants had been recruited into the Civil Service and in 1942 the Select Committee on National Expenditure presented a report to the House of Commons on the subject of organisation and control of the Civil Service. The Committee was impressed by the need for training of staff after their entry into the Civil Service and favoured the creation of a Civil Service Staff College. There was a debate on this subject in the House of Commons early in 1943 in which the then Financial Secretary to the Treasury welcomed the general tenor of the Select Committee's observations but pointed out that the establishment of a Staff College was only one aspect of the much wider question of staff training. He decided to set up a Committee to investigate the training of Civil Servants. This was how the Assheton Committee came to be set up.

The Assheton Committee did not favour the setting up of a Civil Service Staff College but it did make two main recommendations. One was that there should be more formal training of Civil Servants in all classes and on this I shall have more to say later.

The Committee's other main recommendation was that in addition to a training officer in each department there should be set up in the Treasury a division responsible for the co-ordinating of training and education throughout the Civil Service.

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*Text of a talk which was to be given at the Institute on April 28, 1959, but could not be delivered due to the illness of Mr. Platt.

This second recommendation has been carried out. Each department now has its own training officer. In the larger departments at least he is a full-time officer with a training staff under him. In the smaller departments he may be part-time. The Treasury has a Training and Education Division charged with the co-ordination of training throughout the Civil Service which exercises its function in two main ways. It acts as a central clearing house for ideas on the techniques of training and tries to disseminate those ideas by training centrally the instructors who are employed by departments. These instructors are ordinary career Civil Servants who are put on to training as part of their career. They are instructed by the Treasury Training and Education Division in teaching techniques which they can use in whatever way is most appropriate to the training work they have to do in their own departments. Secondly, the Training and Education Division conducts centrally a number of training courses and conferences, many of which are concerned with management. The great bulk of training in the Civil Service—perhaps 95% of it—is done by departments themselves and not directly by the Treasury. There is a considerable element of management training in this departmental training.

FORMAL TRAINING

The Assheton Committee considered that the object of formal training should be to attain the highest degree of efficiency. It went on to say that the word "efficiency" was not enough in itself and it proceeded to make a more precise definition which is as follows :

"In any large scale organisation efficiency depends on two elements: the technical efficiency of the individual to do particular work allotted to him, and the less tangible efficiency of the organisation as a corporate body derived from the collective spirit and outlook of the individuals of which the body is composed. Training must have regard to both elements."

The Committee's detailed recommendations followed this pattern and refer therefore to training of individuals in the particular skills of their jobs and to training designed to improve the morale of the Civil Service as a whole.

TRAINING IN SKILL

There has for a good many years been training done in the British Civil Service in the skill needed for particular jobs. For example, so long ago as the 1930s, the Post Office started training their counter clerks employed in Crown Post Offices in the work which they

had to do on the counter. The Post Office have also for a great many years trained telephone operators and telegraph operators in their particular jobs. Similarly, the Inland Revenue Department trains its staff in the technical details of Income Tax law and administration. The Ministry of Pensions and National Insurance likewise trains its staff who have to administer the National Insurance Act and similar legislation in the details of those Acts. The value of this type of training is fairly easy to assess. One can, for example, say that someone who has training in a formal training centre in some particular skill will become fully effective quicker than someone who is merely left to pick it up by watching someone else do it. A very great deal of this kind of training is done in the Civil Service, and its value is very widely accepted. It accounts for more than half of our normal training effort.

TRAINING FOR MORALE

I now pass to the point raised by the Assheton Committee of training to maintain or improve the morale of an organisation. Anyone who has been in charge of a large-sized organisation will agree with the Assheton Committee's view that there are two elements necessary for its efficiency. One is the technical efficiency of the individuals in it in their particular jobs. The other is what the Assheton Committee called the corporate efficiency of the organisation as a whole, something which might be called morale. A well run organisation has an efficiency which is greater than the sum total of the efficiency of its individual members and can achieve results far greater than the efforts of its individual members could achieve if they were not co-ordinated and directed to a common end and inspired by a common purpose.

How to achieve and maintain this good morale in an organisation is one of the major concerns of management. A number of things contribute to good morale. One is reasonable conditions for the staff. This would cover such things as fair remuneration and proper facilities for their work. But this is not the only factor which influences morale and indeed one may still have good morale without having good conditions. A great deal of very good work has been done by people working with a sense of mission in very difficult conditions. I do not propose to deal with this particular factor further, if only because it is not something which can be corrected by training.

Another factor which we in the British Civil Service believe helps to maintain morale is to give the individual some idea of how his work fits in to the work of the organisation as a whole, so that he can see that, even if he is a cog in a machine, he is still a necessary part of

it and is helping to produce the result of the whole organisation which, of course, goes well beyond his own particular bit in it. A conscientious attempt is made in the British Civil Service to give Civil Servants some idea of how their work fits in to the organisation as a whole, and I shall be saying something later about this.

Another factor, and some people would say, the most important factor, in maintaining good morale is good management.

Now we come to the crucial question—can one teach management? There is a fairly common saying that managers are born and not made. There is also a fairly common attitude that things are best learnt if they are learnt the hard way. Some people put it—"I was thrown in at the deep end and I learnt to swim that way. We ought to do the same with these youngsters. Throw them in at the deep end. If they are any good they will learn to swim."

The situation in Britain today, however, is that the demand for good managers exceeds the supply. The old method of throwing the people in at the deep end and waiting for the good ones to struggle out does not produce enough good managers to meet the demand. This is true of industry and it is true of the Civil Service. There has, therefore, been a great deal of attention paid to the training of people in management or perhaps more accurately the development of management potential. The theory behind this training is that a large number of people have the potential to make good managers but they will not achieve their potential without being given some help towards it, and those who would make good managers even without help will become good managers quicker if they are helped.

In industry, the people who are potential managers are usually specialists. They have specialised and probably done very well in some particular sphere such as accounting, or salesmanship or production. But if they are to become managers they will have to have a wider horizon than their own speciality. They will have to learn how to co-operate with other types of specialists, how to use people who have some special knowledge which they do not themselves possess and very often they will have to learn how to persuade people to their point of view or at least how to discuss something intelligently with other people to whom they cannot give orders. This involves a quite different mental approach to the specialist's. Most of the management training done in industry starts therefore from the assumption that the good specialist must have his horizon widened and must be made to think about questions outside his own specialised sphere. An immense amount of this kind of training is done in industry. Courses

lasting as much as three months or longer are quite common and are very widely attended by specialists, usually in their early 30s, whom the higher management regards as potential higher managers of the future.

The effort which is made in the Civil Service to train people in management is much smaller than the effort made in industry though it has the same general objective. We do, however, start with the advantage that the classes from whom we recruit many of our managers are not themselves highly specialised. Both the administrative and executive classes, for example, although they may acquire a good deal of expertise in some type of Government work, are predominantly recruited as all-rounders and not as specialists.

I should like to say something about the management training which is done in the British Civil Service.

TRAINING FOR MANAGEMENT

THE NATURE OF MANAGEMENT

If we are to discuss training for management, we must have a general idea of what is basically involved in management. Putting it very briefly, management in our view involves getting things done through others as distinct from doing it oneself. A number of books have been written about the subject of management and I think I can only attempt very briefly to sketch what we believe to be involved in it. It involves three main facets, the organisation of the work, dealing with the people doing it and knowing the work oneself.

I should like to talk about training for management under three headings—

(a) Pre-entry training;

(b) Formal training;

(c) Training on the job.

PRE-ENTRY TRAINING

In the Administrative and Executive classes of the Civil Service, we require our recruits to have a certain intellectual and academic standard. They may enter either by taking formal written examinations and being given interviews by the Civil Service Commission. Or they may enter by the interview method alone, provided that they have certain standards of academic qualification. In either case effectively we demand for the Executive class academic qualifications at the

advanced level of the General Certificate of Education and for the Administrative class a good Honours degree of first class or a good Second Class standard. Whether a person enters by formal examination or by the interview method, he must in effect have these academic qualifications. But the important point is that these qualifications are not specialised qualifications. That is to say, they are not specifically related to the work which the candidate is likely to do in the Civil Service. They are a test of his capacity and not of his specialised knowledge. In this we differ from the Civil Service in a number of other countries in Europe which at least give preference to candidates with qualifications in law or candidates who have taken degree courses in public administration. Our practice of demanding only proof of capacity and not specialised qualifications for the Administrative and Executive classes goes back to the time when competitive examinations were first introduced about a century ago. In this respect England learnt from India.

Competitive examinations were introduced for admissions to the Indian Civil Service following the India Act of 1853 which, *inter alia,* abolished the patronage of the Directors of the East India Company over appointments in India. Macaulay was made Chairman of a Committee "to take into consideration the subject of the Examination of Candidates for the Civil Service of the East India Company." In its report the Committee said : "It is undoubtedly desirable that the civil servant of the Company should enter on his duties while still young but it is also desirable that he should have received the best, the most liberal, the most finished education that his native country affords. Such an education has been proved by experience to be the best preparation for every calling which requires the exercise of the higher powers of the mind. We think it most desirable that the examination should be of such a nature that no candidate who may fail shall to whatever calling he may betake himself have any reason to regret the time and labour which he spent in preparing himself to be examined. Skill in Greek and Latin versification has indeed no direct tendency to form a judge, a financier or a diplomatist. But the youth who does best what all the ablest and most ambitious youths about him are trying to to do well will generally prove a superior man."

Macaulay's object then was to test mental ability and industry which he incidentally believed to be also a mark of moral worth and not to require study of subjects which would be useless to a candidate in any other occupation if he failed to get into the Civil Service.

These were the principles applied to recruitment to the East India Company's service shortly to become the Indian Civil Service.

When competitive examinations were later introduced for the British Civil Service, the same principles were applied.

This is the basis of the long established tradition of regarding the members of the Administrative class, and to a great extent of the Executive class, as intelligent and adaptable amateurs who form their judgments on the basis of experience rather than as a result of a prescribed course of theoretical training or narrow specialisation.

FORMAL TRAINING

I now pass to the subject of formal training in management. This is carried on by the Treasury for the administrative classes and for higher management generally and by Departments for their own executive staff at lower and middle management levels.

NEW ENTRANT TRAINING

Any new entrant to the Civil Service will normally have a new entrant course on entry into his department which will give him and any other new entrants into the department a general idea of the purpose of the department, of how its work is organised and how it fits into the general machinery of Government. This is part of the essential background knowledge which the Administrative or Executive officer will require in his management work. It is not specifically directed towards his management responsibilities.

EXECUTIVE CLASS TRAINING

I now turn to the training of the Executive class in management.

The work of the Executive class was defined by the Reorganisation Committee of the Civil Service National Whitley Council in 1921. This definition was slightly modified as a result of a new examination by Whitley machinery shortly after the 1939-45 war of the possibility of an extended use of the Executive class in the Civil Service. The class now does the higher work of the Supply and Accounting Departments and of certain other branches of the Civil Service covering a wide field and requiring judgment, initiative and resource. In the junior ranks it comprises the critical examination of particular cases of lesser importance not clearly within the scope of approved regulations, initial investigations into matters of higher importance and the immediate direction of small blocks of business. In its upper ranges, it is concerned with matters of internal organisation and control, with the settlement of broad questions arising out of business in hand or in contemplation and with the responsible conduct of important operations.

It will be clear from this definition that management is an important part of the work of the Executive class.

The basic grade of the executive class is recruited as to about 75% by promotion from the clerical grades. The remaining 25% is recruited direct either from school-leavers at the advanced level of the General Certificate of Education or from University graduates. In the grades above the basic, the proportions of direct entrants to the class are naturally somewhat higher than in the basic grade but all grades are liable in some measure to do some management work.

SUPERVISION COURSES

In a number of departments supervisory or management duties are given a specific course in supervision. These courses are naturally varied to suit the needs of departments.

A typical supervision course lasts $2\frac{1}{2}$ days and includes a discussion on the responsibility of a supervisor, instruction on compiling annual reports on staff, and on organising the work of a section.

COURSES IN CONDUCT OF PUBLIC BUSINESS

When a member of the Executive class gets to the rank of Higher Executive Officer or Senior Executive Officer, that is in the salary range of roughly £1000 and £1500, he is in most departments sent on a course of training in the conduct of public business. These courses were introduced some few years ago in most of the major departments and were designed to deal with five points :

    (1) Improved standards of work;
    (2) Avoidance of errors and delays;
    (3) Relationships with Parliament and Ministers;
    (4) Relationships with the public;
    (5) Relationships with the staff.

The emphasis on these five points varies to some extent with the work which a particular department is doing. A typical course in the conduct of public business lasts five days, and includes the subjects of supervision, organisation of work, the work of committees, arrears and delays, reporting on staff, and relations with specialist staff and with the public.

ADMINISTRATIVE CLASS TRAINING

I now turn to the training of the Administrative class.

Junior Administrative Course

The training of administrative staff in management (apart from the new entrant course) begins in a sense with the training of the

young Assistant Principal who is brought to a central training course at the Treasury about 4-6 months after his entry into the Service or, if he is promoted from the Executive class, after his promotion. The duties of the Administrative class have been described as "The formation of policy, the co-ordination and improvement of Government machinery and the general administration and control of the departments of the public service". A member of the class has not only to be familiar with the day-to-day running of his Ministry but also to face any major problems that may arise, to think round it and, if possible, forestall it, to estimate what it involves financially, what effects it may have on the public, what connection it has with the work of other Ministries or other countries and what their reactions may be and so to play his part as a member of a team giving his Minister a complete, balanced and sensible picture of the problem and sound advice on dealing with it.

The Treasury course for Assistant Principals is designed to bring together some 16-18 Assistant Principals drawn from all the different Ministries in the Service. It has been the regular practice to form a balance between University graduates and those recruited through the limited competition, *i.e.*, from the Executive class, on each course. Additional members have been provided by Scientific Officers whose duties have a particularly administrative flavour and also from recruits to the Statistician class. The Assistant Principals have gained some understanding of the work of their Ministry in their first few months there but have had little experience of the wider work of the Service as a whole. The object of the course is to broaden their understanding of the machinery of Government in the United Kingdom, including local Government and of the organisation of the Civil Service. The emphasis throughout is on widening their outlook and on giving them an understanding of the need for better departmental co-operation. The course naturally provides useful personal contacts between officials of various Ministries. The courses are conducted in an informal atmosphere designed to promote as full and free discussion as possible. Talks on a variety of topics are given by various senior Civil Servants and by visitors from outside the service and there are full opportunities for questions to be asked and the answers to be discussed. The speakers on each course include a Minister and the permanent head of a Ministry. The course is divided for several periods into two syndicates to examine particular topics, the discussion being under the control of a chairman appointed from amongst the members. This practice gives each member of the course an opportunity to act as chairman or secretary of a small group as well as experience of belonging to an informal committee. Some of these discussions are related

to set exercises such as the organisation of a scientific research station or the problems of a local authority to which a visit is paid as part of the course. The syndicates produce reports, either oral or written, which are then the subject of joint discussion by the whole group. These courses last for three weeks and have as one of their main objectives broadening the outlook of the Assistant Principal and giving him an awareness of the wider problems which may well come his way as a manager in the not too distant future.

Courses for Principals and Comparable Officers

The Assistant Principal who has attended the Assistant Principals' course is usually aged about 23 or 24. He is promoted to Principal usually by the age of 30 and sometimes a little earlier. Some time in his thirties he may be invited to attend what is called a Senior Administrative course at the Treasury which deals with some specific management problems. Members of the Executive and other classes of similar rank also attend these courses. This course is an attempt to carry out the view of the Assheton Committee that there comes a time somewhere in the thirties where those who are likely to rise to higher levels in the Service would benefit from an opportunity to stand back for a while from their day-to-day work and consider with their colleagues where they are going and what they are doing. The senior administrative course is more in the nature of a conference lasting one week and divided between syndicate discussion of the nature and problems of management and talks and discussion on general management questions or on current management problems. We also include a visit to a large industrial organisation where the group discusses with representatives of the management the problems of organisation and management arising in the industrial concern.

Residential Conferences

At a still further stage some time in his forties, when he has reached the rank of Assistant Secretary, a member of the Administrative class may be invited to a residential study conference, lasting about 10 days which discusses organisation and management problems in the Civil Service. These conferences are for Assistant Secretaries and equivalent ranks in the Executive class but are not confined to members of the Administrative and Executive classes. Indeed two-thirds of the fifty odd places on them go to members of the scientific, professional and other specialist classes who have reached similar ranks at which their work becomes much more involved with management and much less with doing their research work or their specialist work themselves.

TRAINING ON THE JOB

So much for pre-entry training and formal training. I now come to the question of training on the job. There is nothing new about training on the job. For many years, with some notable exceptions it was the only way in the greater part of the Civil Service in which anybody was trained at all. Formal training is not a substitute for practical experience but it can help a man or woman to profit from practical experience and to become fully effective more quickly.

CONCLUSION

To sum up, we agreed that management had two aspects, the job and the staff and that under the job we could put two facets—one, knowledge, and the other, organisation. Under the staff we could put the subject of human relationships. How far does the training which we have been talking about meet these requirements, knowledge, organisation and human relationships? In the pre-entry training it is, I think, clear that we do not specifically meet these requirements of knowledge, organisation and human relationships at all. We do not recruit managers as such. What we seek to do is to recruit managing potential. Under the heading of formal training the need for knowledge is partly met by the new entrant courses which are given to most staff, at all events in the major departments. For administrative staff the Junior Administrative course given to Assistant Principals is largely a matter of imparting knowledge though it also involves some questions of relationship with colleagues. The Senior Administrative course given to Principals deals predominantly with questions of organisation and of human relationships. For the executive grades at lower and middle management level, the supervision courses again deal with organisation and with human relationships and courses in the conduct of public business likewise deal with organisation and human relationships. At the higher management levels where we have residential courses open to managers from all classes in the Civil Service, we are not so much seeking to impart knowledge as to discuss questions of organisation and problems of human relationships. When we come to training on the job, the Civil Service relies very heavily on practical experience and that experience can be said to impart knowledge, to raise questions of organisation and to involve problems of human relationships, indeed all the three aspects of management.

I hope I have said enough to show that the British Civil Service, although it does not do as much as British industry to train its managers, does it to quite a considerable amount. The question which anyone would naturally ask is how far this training is of value and how far

it has been successful.   One must admit at the outset that it is extreme-
ly difficult to put any precise value on this kind of training for manage-
ment.   It does not aim at teaching a specific skill which can be measur-
ed.   It aims very much more at producing an attitude of mind.   The
attitude of mind cannot itself be measured and one is, therefore, thrown
back on trying to measure the results.   Even here, it is not easy to say
how much managerial efficiency arises from training and how much
would have been developed anyway by experience without any formal
training.   All the people whom I know who are concerned with
management training are also concerned to assess the value of what they
do.   But so far as I know, no one has yet managed to produce any
very precise yardstick by which to measure its results.   We do attempt
to assess with our trainees what these various courses have done for
them.   Every course of the kind I have been describing ends up with a
session in which the members of the course are asked to say frankly
what they think of it and whether it has done them any good.   This
discussion is normally very frank and very free and it is of great value
to the people who have to organise and design these courses to know
just what the trainees think of them.

The general experience is that at the end of a course most people
will say that they have gained something from it.   They have been
stimulated by hearing new points of view expressed by prominent
people.   They have had the opportunity of discussing with each other
what they are trying to do as managers and, above all, they have learnt
a great deal from each other's experience.   How far is this effect last-
ing?   This again is something which is very difficult to judge.   We do
attempt to find out after a time whether the people who have come on
our courses have received any lasting benefit from them.   We often
have to sell our courses to people who cannot be compelled to send their
staff on them.   If the courses are not good, we shall get no trainees.
In fact, we get more than we can cope with.   But to a large degree,
our emphasis on training for management is an act of faith.   It is
based on assumptions which we believe to be sound and it is tested,
so far as we can test it, by enquiry of the trainees and by enquiry of
their superiors.   But none of these tests is very precise and we can only
say that we believe the idea of management training to be worthwhile.
We equally believe that the techniques and methods used for manage-
ment training and the ideas of the trainers must be constantly scrutinis-
ed and kept under review.   Nothing is more fatal to a good train-
ing programme than an attitude of complacency.

SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION AT THE UNION LEVEL

V. Jagannadham

INDIA has a federal form of government under the present constitution. This is the accepted position notwithstanding the unitary bias in many respects. Welfare administration demands a great deal of decentralization even in a unitary state by virtue of the nature of services offered for use by the clientele, namely, the people spread over remote parts of the country. If this is true of a unitary state, its importance need not be emphasized in a federal state. In all federal states, therefore, welfare matters are, by and large, under the exclusive jurisdiction of the Units instead of the Union Government.

Nevertheless, in recent times there has been, in industrially advanced federal states, a growing disparity between resources and needs as between Union and Units governments in welfare matters. The lag between resources and needs which checks the enthusiasm, initiative and activities of the Units governments in the welfare field sometimes prompts the Union government to take greater initiative in this field which is resented and disputed by the Units. The constitutional balance of power is then sought to be restored either through constitutional or through judicial interpretation or through a more agreeable method of joint conference and administrative devices. Instead of legislative encroachment or direct administrative involvement, the Union government guides, aids and encourages the Units through directives or recommendations, subsidies or matching grants, surveys and research and so on. For this purpose the Union Government should have an adequately constituted and a properly integrated ministry or department at the Union level. In the United States, the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; in Canada, the Department of National Health and Welfare; in Australia, the Departments of Health and Social Services, besides a few other departments which look after specific welfare activities for special areas or groups of people, constitute the structure of welfare administration at the Union level in the older federations.[1]

In India the constitutional division of powers reflects an attempt to improve upon the existing position and experience in the older

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1. This aspect is discussed in detail by A.H. Birch, *Federalism, Finance and Social Legislation in Canada, Australia and the United States*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1955; and by K.C. Wheare, *Federal Government*, London, Geoffrey Cumberlege, 1946.

federations. Therefore, in Schedule VII of the Constitution of India containing the distribution of powers, welfare subjects are by and large placed either under the exclusive sphere of the Units or in the concurrent sphere. This arrangement prevents jurisdictional disputes and gives greater scope for Union leadership in welfare matters. This system of distribution also secures enough flexibility to enable the Union Government to implement the growing volume of international obligations in the welfare field.

While the above arrangement is an improvement from the standpoint of constitutional law, one may doubt its expediency from the administrative point of view. The present constitutional arrangement encourages the Union Government to play a much greater role in welfare administration. This contingency should be considered in the context of the general phenomena of the rapidly growing centralization process in the modern state, and must be judged in the light of the special conditions prevailing in our country. Federalism in India has been created by the centrifugal process of carving out autonomous units out of a previous unitary state. The Units, therefore, do not have the same attachment, as in other types of federations, to a paramount status of statehood or a large measure of self-reliance. Being formerly subordinate administrative units, the Units do not either immediately or effectively protest against the enlargement of the Union's legislative or administrative authority in respect of matters in concurrent jurisdiction. On the other hand, the device of centrally sponsored schemes, planned and financed by the Centre but administered by the States, destroys the impulse for initiative among the States and creates in them a feeling of parasitism in regard to the Centre. The possibility, therefore, is that the matters in the concurrent list become amalgamated to the Union list ultimately. This might have been anticipated by the framers of the Constitution and need not alarm anybody provided the centralization process does not affect the subjects in the Units' exclusive list. This contingency also exists because of the prevalence of certain other factors. Besides the general tendency for the Union government to expand, two or three other factors which impinge upon the acquiescent attitude of the Units in India are : (1) the imperative demands of an overall development plan; (2) the same party governments at both the Union and Unit levels except in one southernmost state, and (3) the strong tendency for the political and administrative elite to gain power at and administer power from the Union headquarters. All these factors pervade and dominate the attitudes, programmes and procedures in favour of strengthening the Union Government's role in the field of welfare administration in India.

Normally, this process of centralization need not have been minded because it is unwise to attach much sanctity to structural systems, legislative processes and administrative procedures provided they contribute to the goal of promoting the well-being of the people. This standard, however, points to the need for a reverse process in welfare administration. Welfare problems demand local leadership, initiative from and proper use of local resources and resourcefulness for solution of local problems at local level. The proposals for democratic decentralization, contained in the report of the Study Team on Community Projects and National Extension Service of the Committee on Plan Projects, are emphatic on this aspect, and have come none too soon. Unless the process of centralization is arrested by appropriate changes in outlook, structure and procedures, the proposals would remain ineffective in operation. It is in this context that two questions are considered in this article, namely, (1) the desirability of an integrated Ministry of Health, Education and Welfare in the Union government, and (2) whether there is a need for creating a separate Ministry of Social Welfare at the Centre.

II

In view of the difference in the definition and content of the programme of welfare activities in different countries, it is difficult to be precise about comparing and describing the structure of welfare administration at the Union Government level in India and other countries. In this article, the pattern of allocation of welfare subjects at the Centre and in States, given in Schedules I and II of the questionnaire of the Study Team on Social Welfare, Committee on Plan Projects, is taken as the basis.[2] It will be observed that there are half a dozen ministries engaged in welfare activities at the Union level. Further, the Planning Commission has also established corresponding divisions with the necessary secretariat complement.

The ministerial, administrative and planning arrangement in the welfare field at the Union level needs to be considered in the light of the fact that the responsibility for the legislation and administration of these matters rests primarily on the Units. The Union Government has direct responsibility only for implementing international conventions, for co-ordinating inter-state activities, for providing services in centrally-administered areas and for administering the central institutions. In other respects, its responsibility is indirect and consists of planning, research, direction and grants-in-aid. The

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2. Reproduced at the end of the article.

U.N. Survey of Methods of Social Welfare Administration describes these functions as standard-setting, promotion, subsidization and supervision, and says that these are more important than direct administration in the promotion of many forms of social welfare activity. If this is accepted as correct, it may be asked whether for discharging these functions, separate ministries involving jurisdictional wrangles and overhead charges are necessary or whether they can be integrated into fewer ministries. One obvious disadvantage in having many separate ministries at the Union level in regard to Units subjects is the frequent visits and demands for information and reports by the Union ministries and officials from the Units. These involve considerable degree of diversion from concentration on field operations and loss of time and energy on the part of the state and local authorities. Further, the existence of separate ministries makes it necessary to justify their continued existence and they vie with other ministries in the work-output, secretariat complement, budget allocation without corresponding field operations. This tendency would result in appropriation of larger amounts at the Union level instead of strengthening the agencies at the Units and local levels, and would increase the expenditure on administration rather than on services.

It may be considered whether without loss of efficiency and usefulness, the present arrangement cannot be reduced by half its size. It may be suggested that as in U.S.A. or Canada, there may be one integrated ministry called the Ministry of Health, Education and Welfare. The activities of the Ministry of the Community Development and Co-operation may be amalgamated with the new integrated ministry. The Ministry of Labour and Employment will continue as it is because it is in charge of the administration of national policies in regard to labour welfare, industrial safety, social security and industrial relations etc. After the rehabilitation of refugees the Ministry of Rehabilitation should become defunct and any fringe problems and services might be entrusted to the new integrated ministry. The interest of the Ministry of Home Affairs in welfare matters is more indirect and remote except for the constitutional obligation for the welfare of scheduled castes, tribes and other backward classes. The present Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and his secretariat can become an autonomous part of the new ministry. The other welfare activities of the Ministry of Home Affairs can be entrusted to the welfare division of the new ministry.

The above arrangement may appear to be naive and simple and not politic nor possible. Such an integration may be considered inexpedient for political reasons but may be desirable for administrative considerations. It is considered desirable because it would

be economical and it would also secure unity in command in respect of allied functions under a single political head. Such a rearrangement facilitates co-ordination and planning under one political but different departmental heads. Further, it would ensure speed and flexibility in communication and decision-making within the Ministry and between its departments dealing with different aspects of welfare, as contrasted to too frequent cross-references, consultation and dispersion of authority in respect of a unified set of functions (what Dean Appleby has called 'co-herent missions') between different Ministries. Research and direction and grants-in-aid flow from one single source and the supervision of the activities of the Units becomes more easy and efficient.

Its practicability might be disputed on the ground that such an integrated Ministry might be out of all proportion to an efficient unit of operation and might develop a departmental elephantiasis.[3] This is likely to happen provided the attitude of the Union Government in regard to its role in the functions which primarily belong to the Units remains unchanged. The current concern of the Union Government in the activities of the Units is borne out of a lack of faith in the competence of the Units in discharging their responsibilities according to the enthusiasm and standards prescribed by the authority sanctioning grants-in-aid. This concern or fear might be a well-founded one but it is part of the responsibility of the political and administrative leaders at the Centre to inspire and strengthen the state and local authorities to become competent and self-reliant. The multiplication and expansion of agencies at the Union level can never by a remedy for the weakness at the state and local level.

III

In the above context, we may also consider the suggestion made by the Indian Conference of Social Work for the creation of a separate Ministry of Social Welfare. The Conference had submitted a memorandum to the Government of India in 1956 urging the creation of a Central Ministry of Social Welfare. They have reiterated the demand subsequently. This new ministry will be in addition to the already existing ministries and agencies. The main functions of this Ministry will be "to bring all social work under one co-ordinating administration and to provide an integrated progressive social philosophy". This will enable the Central Ministry of Social Welfare to promote the best

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3. Before Independence, Health and Education were together under one member and they have since been separated on account of political and administrative reasons. Ten years of separate existence and expansion leads one to suggest the need for reversing the trend towards too much expansion of the Union departments dealing with the State subjects.

interest of social work in the country by means of standard-setting, coordinating, training, supervision, giving grants-in-aid, and promoting a scientific approach to social work". The memorandum specifies thirteen functions to be entrusted to such a ministry by stages. The ministry would begin with some of the thirteen functions and this may involve the transfer of some functions from the existing to the newly created ministry while others will be transferred "when it is found politic to do so, and as the Ministry discharges the allotted functions satisfactorily and gathers more experience". The memorandum opines : "Thus, the overall supervision and policy formation with regard to tribal welfare, community development and the rehabilitation of the physically, socially and mentally handicapped or maladjusted can be legitimately entrusted to the Ministry of Social Welfare in due course. It would also have been desirable to have the work of the Ministry of Rehabilitation incorporated within that of the Ministry of Social Welfare. At this juncture (1956), however, it is not feasible to do so on account of the ever-increasing influx of refugees from East Pakistan".

The Ministry will, the memorandum suggests, have eight divisions in the initial stages manned by officers trained and experienced in social work. "If for any reason the Government desires to have a non-technical administrator as Secretary to the Ministry, then a highly qualified social work technician should be appointed as Social Welfare Adviser to the Ministry with the status of Joint Secretary, and a Director-General of Social Welfare (who) should be a well-qualified and experienced social worker. He would preside over and co-ordinate the functions of the different divisions suggested above." The memorandum suggests the creation, in course of time, of a suitable cadre of social welfare officers on the lines of those for other technical departments. With a view "to guard against such a ministry of Social Welfare becoming wooden, rigid, and merely administrative", the Memorandum suggests the desirability of having an Advisory Council which will 'help the Ministry to know the social needs of the people better and will enable the public in turn to take interest in the work of and activities promoted by, the Ministry'. The memorandum also suggests that the Advisory Council should be able to help the various Ministries concerned with social development to co-operate with the Ministry of Social Welfare, in turn. The Advisory Council should consist of representatives of Central Ministries such as Health, Education, Rehabilitation, Labour, Agriculture, Home and Finance as well as schools of social work, university departments of social service and major national social welfare organizations. It is recommended that representatives of the various ministries on the Advisory Council may form

into an inter-departmental Committee to expedite decisions. The memorandum also refers to the place and functions of social welfare ministries in other countries in Asia, Europe and America. Attention is drawn to the growth of welfare departments in many states, which do not have precise scope or unified pattern of activity. "There is an urgent need, therefore", says the memorandum, "for developing agreed patterns of social welfare departments in the States. This can be done only by establishing a Central Social Welfare Ministry at an early date. ....Central directive, guidance and help will be greatly needed and much valued by the States, and this cannot be provided by a multiplicity of un-coordinated arrangements in different States but only through an integrated Central Ministry of Social Welfare". In conclusion the memorandum asserts that "unless such a Ministry is created, it will be difficult to achieve the much needed balance between the economic and social progress of the people, and without such a socio-economic balance, it is impossible to promote the integrated development of human personality."

The suggested set-up of Central Ministry of Social Welfare and its functions deserves close examination. The task of bringing all social work under one co-ordinating administration and providing an integrated social philosophy cannot be secured by official departmental agencies. The first task is beyond the scope of any department or ministry because of the wide ramifications of the work and services. A separate ministry to co-ordinate the services for which it has to depend on other technical ministries would need a super-ministerial status. Co-ordination at the Union level would be facilitated if there is integration of related technical services also under a single ministry, as suggested earlier. The achievement of balance between economic and social progress is a matter of broad policy which is fit for discussion by the National Development Council and formulation by the Planning Commission.

It is rather too much to expect a ministry to provide an integrated social philosophy which is a dynamic ever-growing body of knowledge. Agencies like the Indian Conference of Social Work, Schools of Social Work, Councils of Social Service, Universities etc. are more appropriate for analysing the social problems, widening the horizons of social work, and supplying the governments at the Units and Union levels with the necessary vision, will and skills.

The reference to the place and functions of the social welfare ministries or departments in other countries does not enlighten us much without an examination of the unitary or federal nature of the constitution and without a consideration of the breadth and depth of the social welfare programme of the country. A central ministry of social

welfare or social services or social affairs in a unitary state may be necessary and desirable provided the welfare activities of the central and local governments are wide enough; the position in a federal state, however, is different. It must also be noted in this context that the definition and scope of social welfare activity differ from country to country. In some countries social services like public health and education are outside the scope of welfare programmes. In our country, social welfare does not include income security programmes under social insurance and provident fund, but in most countries, the three aspects of social security, namely, social insurance, assistance and allowances, form part of the welfare programme. Thus, the content rather than the nomenclature is significant in evaluating the experience of other countries.

IV

The question whether and how far there is need for a separate Central Ministry of Social Welfare in addition to the existing ministries and agencies in a federal state in which the welfare activities are predominantly the concern of State Governments is still debatable. It is suggested before that in a federal state, the Union Government should confine its activities to planning, grants-in-aid, direction, and research, and for these, an integrated Ministry of Health, Education, and Welfare would be the most suitable form.

The proposal for integration is based upon the assumption that the functions of the Union Government will be confined to leadership, guidance and grants-in-aid. The administrative division of functions in the integrated ministry need not be worked out in detail at this stage. The experience of other federal countries like U.S.A., Canada, Australia etc. can be utilized.

The suggestion as regards the creation of a separate Social Welfare Ministry needs to be discussed in the light of the agency created in 1953, namely, the Central Social Welfare Board. The memorandum of the Indian Conference of Social Work briefly refers to this body and says "With the creation of a Ministry of Social Welfare, it would be necessary to consider how the work of the Central Social Welfare Board should be integrated with that of the Ministry, so as to avoid duplication of effort and expenditure". The memorandum should have bestowed greater attention on the merits and demerits of the present arrangement of the C.S.W.B. and considered the desirability and functions of the Board *vis-a-vis* a separate Ministry.

The Board is at present entrusted with the following functions :

     (*a*) to cause a survey to be made of the needs and requirements of social welfare organizations;

(*b*) to evaluate the programmes and projects of the aided agencies;

(*c*) to co-ordinate the assistance extended to social welfare activities by various Ministries in the Central and State Governments;

(*d*) to promote the setting up of social welfare organizations on a voluntary basis in places where no such organizations exist; and

(*e*) to render financial aid, when necessary, to deserving organizations or institutions, on terms to be prescribed by the Board.

Its composition at the Central and State levels and its operational activities at the district level reflect its essentially non-governmental voluntary nature, enlisting the co-operation of public workers who are free from power focus and party bias. The Board's functions and activities appear to meet the arguments advanced for the creation of a separate ministry. It can also serve as the Social Welfare Advisory Council. The suggested Ministry of Health, Education and Welfare can utilize the services of the Board as Advisory Council, with necessary modifications. One suggestion, however, may be made here, namely, statutory recognition might be given to the Board, containing an explicit statement of its autonomy, which it enjoys today in fact but not in law. This would obviate the need for the creation of a separate ministry.

The relationship between the integrated Ministry of Health, Education and Welfare and the Central Social Welfare Board will be more or less the same as that exists at present between the Board and the Ministry of Education. The Ministry will be answerable to Parliament for the activities of the Board. The welfare division in the Ministry will act as a liaison between the Ministry and the Board. The functions of leadership and guidance, direction and supervision, grants-in-aid and research, will continue to be the functions of the Board. Planning may also be carried on by the Board on behalf of the Planning Commission in association with the Indian Conference of Social Work and other national field organizations in social welfare as the national forum for expression of views on social welfare.

It is feared that the Central Social Welfare Board will not have the necessary status and competence to give the much-needed leadership in welfare matters *vis-a-vis* the State departments of welfare. The dualism in the present structure of welfare administration with operational functions both for welfare departments and welfare

advisory boards is regarded as anomalous. Only a full-fledged Ministry of Social Welfare at the Centre will have necessary status and competence to act as friend, philosopher and guide to the welfare departments at the State level. The channels of communication between the State departments and the Central ministry will follow the recognized pattern and become well established whereas with the Central Social Welfare Board they will be different and roundabout.

Though the above argument possesses certain merits, it should be remembered that in the integrated ministry there will be a welfare department which acts as a liaison between the State welfare departments and the Central Social Welfare Board. The merit of the latter body is its autonomy and adaptability to suit the needs in the diverse fields of welfare. Its composition reflecting the various national voluntary agencies should help it to play the role of a friend, philosopher and guide much better than a ministry can do. The Centre State relationships are likely to follow the usual channels of delay; to be vitiated by superior-subordinate relationship; to be affected by donor-recipient moods and so on. It is therefore desirable to keep the autonomous character of Central Social Welfare Board and increase its activities so as to enable it to play the role of a friend, philosopher and guide.

The above arrangement would secure integration and therefore co-ordination at the Central Government level alongside with ample scope for national leadership and direction for States, with opportunities for carrying pilot surveys or implementation of pilot programmes to further research. The object of the new and integrated Health, Education and Welfare Ministry at the Centre in a federal state will be to strengthen the State and local level departments and their activities and meet the growing volume of international obligations arising out of the international concern for the welfare of the people. This may be achieved by making the States financially more self-reliant, by conditional grants to the States based upon need for schemes initiated at the suggestion and not under the sponsorship of the Union ministry, by making available more recent knowledge through research publications, by standard setting etc.

The goal of welfare state and the policy required to reach it would be ill-served if we do not arrest the present trend of expansion at the Union level not matched by an adequate strengthening of welfare administration and services at the State and local level. This demands a change in outlook, structural arrangement, administrative relationships and resource-allocation. Co-operative federalism rather than domineering centralism should mark the Union-Unit or

Centre-State relations in the field of welfare administration in a country of vastness and diversities, as in India. Even if India were a unitary state it would be considered expedient to strengthen the welfare administration more at the state and local level than at the Union level. In a federal state, there is need for restraint in expansion, economy in operation and integration in structure with the object of developing at the State level a self-reliant and resilient social administration with necessary grants-in-aid from the Centre.

NOTES

(*A*) *Pattern of Allocation of Welfare Subjects at the Centre*
(Source : Committee on Plan Projects, Study Team on
Social Welfare and Welfare of Backward Classes)

Ministry	*Subjects dealt with*

1. Ministry of Education	(*a*) Central Social Welfare Board :
	   (*i*) Grants-in-aid to existing voluntary welfare organizations; and
	   (*ii*) to sponsor and assist the development of new welfare services through non-official organizations.
	(*b*) Youth welfare and recreational services.
	(*c*) Education and welfare of the handicapped, *viz.*, the blind, the deaf, the crippled, and the mentally handicapped.
	(*d*) Training of social workers.
	(*e*) Social education.

2. Ministry of Health	(*a*) Maternity and child welfare services. (*b*) Medical social work. (*c*) Physical treatment and rehabilitation of the physically and mentally handicapped and of T.B. and leprosy patients.
3. Ministry of Community Development	Social education and the welfare of women and children in the rural areas.

Ministry	Subjects dealt with
4. Ministry of Home Affairs	(a) Welfare of Scheduled Castes/Tribes and other backward classes. (b) Juvenile delinquency. (c) Welfare of prisoners. (d) Aftercare of discharged delinquents and prisoners. (e) Emergency relief measures.
5. Ministry of Labour and Employment	(a) Labour welfare. (b) Industrial safety and health. (c) Social security and measures for the relief of unemployed.
6. Ministry of Rehabilitation	Relief and rehabilitation of displaced persons from Pakistan.

(B) *Pattern of Allocations of Welfare Subjects in the States*

Andhra Pradesh	1. Social Welfare and Labour Department dealing with tribal welfare, welfare of scheduled castes and other backward classes. 2. Women's Welfare Department dealing with women's welfare schemes of the State Government, administrative charge of the State Social Welfare Advisory Board, etc.
Assam	Tribal Areas Department dealing with tribal welfare and other social welfare schemes being dealt with by other departments such as Home, Health, Education and Labour etc.
Bihar	Welfare Department dealing with tribal welfare, welfare of scheduled castes and other backward classes and general social welfare schemes.
Bombay	Labour and Social Welfare Departments, consolidating various welfare departments such as the labour welfare, general social welfare and correctional administration of juvenile delinquents etc. Pattern of field level

	administration differs from region to region in respect of new areas recently merged in Bombay State.
Madhya Pradesh	Tribal Welfare Department dealing with the welfare of tribals and other backward classes. A separate Social Welfare Department dealing with panchayats, social education and beggary.
Madras	No separate department of social welfare. Separate department of Harijan Welfare dealing with that subject. Various social welfare schemes being dealt with under several departments, *e.g.*, Development, Education, Health etc.
Mysore	Department of Social Welfare dealing with welfare of backward classes and tribal welfare. Pattern of field level administration differs in the Karnatak and Hyderabad areas which have been recently merged in the State.
Orissa	Tribal Welfare and Rural Welfare Department dealing with welfare of backward classes, rural welfare and general social welfare.
Punjab	Department of Social Welfare dealing with Social Welfare Advisory Board, youth welfare etc.
Rajasthan	Social Welfare Department also dealing with welfare of tribes and other backward classes.
Uttar Pradesh	Department dealing with women's welfare and general social welfare. There are separate departments to look after Harijans and removal of untouchability.
West Bengal	Social Welfare Department to deal with general social welfare. Separate department to deal with the welfare of backward classes.

THE EUROPEAN ATOMIC ENERGY COMMUNITY—
ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

R. Dwarkadas

EURATOM affords an interesting example of a study in international regional administration. The treaty establishing a European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM)[1] came officially into force on January 1, 1958. The final draft of the treaty had been completed by International Governmental Committee in Brussels on March 9, 1957 and the treaty had been signed in Rome by Belgium, France, the German Federal Republic, Italy, Luxemburg and the Netherlands on March 25, 1957. Between July and December 1957 the treaty was ratified by the Parliaments of all the six member-countries. Simultaneously the treaty establishing a European Economic Community (Common Market) was also ratified.

The tasks of Euratom were defined in Article 1 of the treaty as the creation within a short period the technical and industrial conditions necessary to utilize nuclear discoveries and especially to produce nuclear energy on a large scale. This result would be achieved by joint measures of the member-countries and through the activities of the institutions of the community, which it is the purpose of this article to examine.

Incidentally, it may be noted that a new European agency functioning within the framework of O.E.E.C. (Organization for European Economic Co-operation) came officially into existence on February 1, 1958. The agency is called the European Nuclear Energy Agency. Provision exists for mutual co-operation between Euratom, European Nuclear Energy Agency (of O.E.C.C.) and also International Atomic Energy Agency. It is believed that close co-operation would be present between Euratom, U.S.A.,[2] Great Britain[3] and Canada.

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1. A report of three experts entitled "A Target for Euratom" emphatically asserts the need for development of nuclear energy for Euratom countries and denies the dangerous and growing dependence of these countries on energy imports. The report calculated that the imports amounted at present to 100, 000, 000 tons of coal equivalent (23% of the total energy requirements); and estimated that they would rise to 200,000,000 tons (33%) by 1967; and might reach 300, 000, 000 tons (40%) by 1977. Comparing the proposed Euratom programme with the existing British programme the report noted that the Euratom target was 2½ times the British target of 6, 000, 000 kilowatts of nuclear capacity by 1965. The report recommends that 15, 000, 000 kilowatts of nuclear generating capacity should be built by 1967.

2. U.S.A. would provide fissile materials, technical knowledge and training facilities for Euratom's scientists and technicians while at the later stage Euratom would

EURATOM INSTITUTIONS

The Assembly and the Council of Ministers for Euratom afford us interesting examples of policy-making institutions for purposes of regional international collaboration in the field of development of nuclear energy. Euratom would share the Assembly—which consists of 142 members elected by the national Parliaments of the six member-countries—with the institutions of "Little Europe"—the European Economic Community and the European Coal and Steel Community— the previous Assembly of the latter organization being superseded by the new Assembly. The new Assembly was inaugurated at the Maison de L'Europe in Strasburg in March 1958.

The Assembly meets once a year (in October) to discuss the annual report of the Commission—the collegiate executive machinery of Euratom. It would have power to enforce the resignation of the Commission, such a decision requiring a two-third majority of votes cast as well as ordinary majority of its total membership.

The Assembly would discuss the Community budgets, and would be empowered to propose amendments. It would have to be consulted on certain proposals of the Commission and the Council of Ministers implementing essential principles of the Treaty. It would be entitled to meet in extraordinary session if a majority of its members so demanded, or at the request of the Commission or of the Council of Ministers.

The Council of Ministers is the political executive of Euratom. This consists of one representative from each of the six member-countries. It would take decisions in one of the three ways : (1) either unanimously, (2) by simple majority or (3) by a weighted majority, according to various circumstances laid down in the treaty. Decisions requiring a simple or a qualified majority can in most cases be taken only on a proposal made by the Commission; and any such proposal cannot be amended by the Council except by a unanimous vote. Thus there is the broad dichotomy between proposals made at the initiative of the Commission and proposals originating in the Council of Ministers. This measure is aimed at conferring greater responsibility upon the Commission and safeguarding the stability of its activities.

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make available in return the practical knowledge gained by large-scale industrial application of atomic power.

3. The British authorities would be willing to provide technical training facilities and also to facilitate contacts between British firms in the nuclear construction field and their Euratom counterparts.

THE COMMISSION

The Commission has five members of different nationalities, jointly appointed by the member-governments for four-year terms and eligible for reappointment. The basic compulsions that dictate effective functioning of international organizations are responsible for the provision that the members would be completely independent and would neither solicit nor accept instructions from their governments. If unanimously agreed by the Council, however, member-governments might accredit representatives to the Commission to act as permanent liaison officers.

The Commission is a collegiate executive body. It takes its decisions by a simple majority vote. Its main tasks are :

(1) to supervise the application of the Treaty and the measures adopted within its framework;

(2) to take part in the shaping of the Council and Assembly decisions by making proposals to the Council, which the latter could not amend except by unanimous vote;

(3) to formulate opinions and recommendations on matters within the scope of the Treaty;

(4) to take those decisions for which authority had been conferred upon it; and

(5) to publish annually a general report of the activities of the Community.

ADMINISTRATIVE TECHNIQUES

The different administrative techniques through which both the Council and Commission guide the work of Euratom are as follows :

(*a*) Regulations which would be compulsory and directly applicable in any member-state;

(*b*) directions which would be binding on the recipient state in respect of the result to be achieved but which would allow it to choose the ways and means;

(*c*) decisions which would be obligatory for the parties concerned; and

(*d*) recommendations and opinions which would not have binding force.

Needless to point out that such alternating techniques of compulsion and persuasion, centralization and decentralization, direction and advice, are more or less common to both international and national organizations. Nevertheless, the overwhelming importance of

persuasive and co-operative devices in international organizations, composed of sovereign states, sensitive as they are to coercive pressures, cannot be over-emphasized.

COURT OF JUSTICE

There is an interesting provision for a Court of Justice whose functions are to safeguard the law in the interpretation and application of the Treaty, to decide on the legality of decisions of the Council of Ministers or the Commission and to determine the violations of the Treaty. Actions might be brought before the Court either by a member-country or by the Council of Ministers, or by the Commission, or by a person or legal entity affected by the decision of the Community. Actions might be based on these grounds: that the Council or the Commission were not empowered to take a decision, had violated essential rules of procedure, had violated the Treaty or any rule implementing it, or had abused their discretionary powers, *e.g.*, in regard to granting of licences by the Commission, application of compulsory measures in the sphere of security. The Court consists of seven members jointly appointed by the member-governments holding office for six years and eligible for reappointment. There would also be two Advocates-General.

CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEES

There are two important technical committees which have consultative status and which assist the Council of Ministers. As a matter of fact, the Treaty requires consultation of these committees in a few specified cases. The Economic and Social Committee would be common to Euratom and the European Economic Community. It would be composed of representatives of all sections of economic and social life such as employers' organizations, trade unions, and similar bodies. This is, incidentally, indicative of the extent to which international activities are proliferating in the member-nations' social fabric. Its members, appointed for four years by a unanimous decision of the Council of Ministers, are drawn from the member-countries. The other Committee, named the Scientific and Technical Committee, assists the Commission in an advisory capacity and consists of 20 members appointed by the Council, after consultation with the Commission for a five-year term. This committee expertly helps the Commission to draft a code of basic standards governing personal safety against dangers resulting from "ionizing radiation".

OPERATIONS AND TECHNIQUES OF EURATOM INSTITUTIONS

The operational responsibilities of the Community in general and Commission in particular relate to the development of nuclear research, dissemination of nuclear information, protection of health, investments, community undertakings, supplies of nuclear materials, security measures, ownership of fissile materials and external relations.

Varied techniques are adopted by the Commission for promotion of research in member-countries. The treaty enjoins that the Commission would set up a Community Nuclear Research Centre to ensure the execution of research programmes, and also for standardizing nuclear terminology and measurements. Schools for training of specialists would be established. The Commission would work out research and training programmes and the Community Nuclear Research Centre would carry them out. Again, the Commission would endeavour to co-ordinate the research conducted in individual member-states. It would also attempt to prevent wasteful duplication and to direct research into less explored channels; would publish, with the agreement of the interested parties, the research programmes in operation ; and might even convene meetings of representatives of public and private research centres for mutual consultation and exchanges of information. The Commission might extend financial and/or technical assistance for research work, directly by financial contributions or by the organization of joint financing by those concerned or by supplying raw or fissile materials, or by making available installation, equipment or experts, either against payment or free of charge. Thus the tasks of the Commission in the field of research promotion are indeed manifold.

In the field of dissemination of information, the Commission would be obliged to pass on to interested persons and undertakings in the member-countries all the information acquired by the Euratom and to issue to them at their request non-exclusive licences. A special procedure would apply to information which had to be kept secret for defence reasons. The Commission, by agreement, would seek to obtain information from the member-countries on all patents, patent applications, or working models covering institutions which would be useful to the Community. It would do its utmost to promote the issue of licences for such patents etc. A compulsory notification procedure would apply to certain inventions and again a special procedure would apply to secret defence inventions. The Commission could demand the issue of licences if it considered this desirable. An arbitration committee could be set up to deal with disputes between either

(*a*) the Commission and the owner of a patent; or (*b*) the owner of a patent and a licensee on the subject of compensation. Finally, the Commission would evolve a system whereby member-states, undertakings or individuals could exchange progress or final reports about their research.

In the field of public health the Community would establish a code of basic standards governing personal safety against dangers resulting from ionizing radiation. The Commission would draft the code. An Information and Study Centre for personal safety problems would be set up within the Community Nuclear Research Centre.

To stimulate initiative by public and private undertakings in the nuclear energy field, and to promote planned development of their investments, the Commission would publish programmes indicating the Community's production aims and the capital investments thereby implied, after hearing the views of the Social and Economic Committee. Undertakings of outstanding importance for development of nuclear industry in the Community might be declared Community Undertakings having special status, by a decision of the Council of Ministers taken on the proposal of the Commission.

SUPPLIES

In the matter of supplies a joint policy would be pursued with regard to supply of ores, raw materials and special fissile matter on the basis of the principle of equal access of resources. For this purpose the Commission would constitute a Commercial Agency, which would be a corporate body, vested with financial independence and able to conduct its affairs according to business rules, but controlled by the Commission.

SECURITY

All special fissile matter would be the property of the Community. For the purposes of security the Commission would be required to ensure (1) that ores, raw materials and special fissile matter were not misdirected from their intended use as declared by their consumers; and (2) that arrangements for their supply, and any special control measures accepted by the Community in agreement with a non-Community state or international organization, were observed.

FINANCE

Estimates of all the Community's revenue and expenditure, (apart from those of the Commercial Agency and the joint undertakings)

would be drawn up for each financial year and entered either in the operational budget or the research and investment budget. The revenue and expenditure of the Agency, which would operate on commercial lines, would be estimated separately. The receipts of the operational budget would consist mainly of financial contributions of the member-countries in different proportions indicated in the Treaty. The contributions might be replaced, in whole or part, by the proceeds of taxes levied by the Community on the member-countries; the introduction of such taxes would be decided by the Council of Ministers on the proposal of the Commission. The Community would also be entitled to raise loans to finance research and investment.

The preliminary draft budgets of the various Euratom Community institutions under the aegis of the Commission would have to be submitted to the Council of Ministers not later than September 30 of each year (the financial year being January 1-December 31). The Council would be entitled to propose amendments but would be required, in its turn, to submit the budgets to the Assembly by October 21 at the latest. If the Assembly either signified its approval or expressed no opinion within a month, the draft budgets would be deemed to have been finally adopted. If the Assembly proposed amendments, the final decision would be with the Council of Ministers.

CONCLUSION

The problems concerning the institutions and activities like those in Euratom, it can be seen, are fertile fields of research for a student of public administration, who interests himself in problems of regional international administration, particularly in the context that materials and literature in this field are fastly developing.

Besides, this is a nuclear age. The use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes holds a promise for a prosperous future. In this context, Euratom's contribution, by way of deployment of nuclear energy for the prosperity of that segment of humanity for which it is designed to function, is welcome and its success will attract such regional international ventures throughout the other regions of the world. It is a safe guess that under-developed areas in the world are bound to watch these experiments with great deal of interest for anything that concerns a faster pace of development is arresting to them. Posterity, given a more peaceful atmosphere in international relations, is bound to concentrate more and more on development of collaborative devices and global assistance programmes for the benefit of all mankind; for prosperity in any part of the world is a stimulus to prosperity in every part of the globe. Success of Euratom programmes is bound to

interest India, for we on a limited scale have our own national machinery for the exploitation of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes in the Atomic Energy Commission,[4] and probably some day we might as well pioneer a more or less comparable regional international venture in collaboration with a few nations in this part of the world, of course, richly drawing on goodwill, experience and assistance from advanced nations in the world.

4. A new Atomic Energy Commission with full executive and financial powers, modelled to a certain extent on the U.K. Atomic Energy Authority, was set up last year. The new Commission consists of two full-time members and a part-time member. The Secretary of the Department of Atomic Energy is the *ex officio* Chairman of the Commission. There is a full-time member in charge of finance and administration ; and the third member (part-time) is in charge of research and development. The Commission is responsible for (*a*) formulating the policy of the Department of Atomic Energy for the consideration and approval of the Prime Minister ; (*b*) preparing the budget of the Department ; (*c*) implementing governmental policy in atomic energy matters. Within the limits of Budget provisions as approved by Parliament,t he Commission exercises the Government's powers, both administrative and financial, for the carrying out of the Government's policies by the Department of Atomic Energy.

WHITLEYISM

—A Feature of Democratic Administration

B. S. Khanna

DEMOCRATIC Administration has a number of distinguishing features, external and internal. First, it is one which is guided and directed by the elected representatives of the people. Not only administrative policies are to be formulated by these representatives but the implementation of these policies is also to be supervised by the latter, without, of course, damaging the initiative and political neutrality of the bureaucracy. Second, at the various levels of the administration there are advisory committees composed of the representatives of the special interests and citizens who help in the formulation of the administrative programmes and guide their implementation. Third, a democratic administration works within the legal framework erected by the representatives of the people in a Parliament and is accountable to the autonomous courts of law for any breaches of constitution or of law. Fourth, it is an administration which is responsive to the wishes of the people and also shows due regard to the feeling and dignity of the common man.

These external features have a close relation with the internal characteristics. As a matter of fact, there is a mutual interactions between the two.

The internal characteristics are :—

(a) a broad-based competitive system of recruitment which is conducive to the emotional integration of civil servants in the community;

(b) de-centralisation and de-concentration of powers within the administration to the extent dictated by prevailing circumstances and reason;

(c) proper human relations among the public personnel based upon respect for human beings working within the administration, without, of course, injuring the hierarchical organisation of the administrative power;

(d) a system of joint consultations and even negotiations between the Government and their employees in regard to matters of mutual interest.

For an administration in a democratic country it is by no means easy to develop all these features, external and internal, in a short time. Social, political and human factors in a country influence and limit the development of its administration. Here we are, however, concerned with only one feature, *i.e.*, system of joint consultations and negotiations between the Government and their employees. Since Britain has developed this system (commonly called 'Whitleyism') within her administration during the last four decades in such a progressive way as to arouse interest in India and elsewhere, an attempt has been made in this article to make a survey of this system at the national level and, more briefly, at the local level. The experience of Britain will be of help to India which is now engaged on experimentation in the field of joint consultations between the management and the staff in the national administration as well as in some state and local administrations. A number of Staff Councils have been set up in the Union Administration and some of the State Governments have followed suit. But these joint consultative bodies will not be much success unless the proper spirit of compromise and adjustments inspires their working. A study of the position in Britain may be of some value to those who are interested in the extension and success of the experiment in this country.

WHITLEYISM IN NATIONAL ADMINISTRATION

(1) Development

Confining our attention to the non-industrial civil service[1] here, we find that joint consultations and negotiations between the Government and their employees are carried on primarily through specially-created bodies, called the Whitley Councils. There is one National Whitley Council for the Civil Service as a whole and a number of Departmental Whitley Councils for discussion of problems of mutual interest on a departmental basis.

These councils came into existence gradually after the conclusion of World War I. A Committee appointed by the Government and headed by Mr. J.H. Whitley, M.P., to suggest ways and means to deal with the industrial unrest in the country recommended in 1917-18 that joint consultative and negotiating bodies should be set up in industries to provide a forum for joint discussions and negotiations between the management and the employees in regard to matters of common

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1. The British Civil Service is generally divided into two categories—industrial and non-industrial. In 1955, the number of civil servants in the two categories respectively was 422,760 and 635,436. This article concerns only the second category.

interest such as salary, discipline, promotion etc. The underlying idea was that the management should no longer be entirely authoritarian in its dealings with the employees. The participation of workers in the determination of the conditions under which they have to work, it was thought, would improve their lot and also give them a feeling that their voice was being heard and respected in matters which concerned them deeply.

Civil servants, particularly, the lower and middle-level ones, demanded that the Government should set an example to the industrialists by adopting this radical idea in their dealings with their employees. The Government, however, hesitated at first, since as representatives of the sovereign state they thought themselves different from all other employers. Under constant pressure they became willing to adopt this recommendation partially. This did not satisfy the civil servants who intensified their campaign. Ultimately, the Government announced their decision to accept the principle of joint consultations and negotiations, *i.e.*, Whitleyism, for the civil service. In July 1919, the first Whitley body—the National Whitley Council—started operating. It was followed by the setting up of Departmental Councils and Committees as time passed.

A big change thus took place in the pattern of management-staff relations in the administration. A number of factors helped this process. First, the staff associations which had been growing in number and power since the beginning of the twentieth century, pulled their weight with the Government to make them agree to a system of joint consultations and negotiations. Again, the "deterioration of civil service ways and conditions plus the energy, and new ideas provided by ex-servicemen and temporary clerks after the war" exerted a powerful influence for the revision of the management-staff relationships.[2] Dr. Humphreys points out : "Civil Servants came out of the war prepared to make a new stand for a better life, in much the same way as their fellow workers in other industries; the Whitley system, under Government sponsorship, offered the opportunity".[3]

It would, however, be wrong to presume that Whitleyism was a big success in all departments or on all occasions from the beginning. No doubt the National Whitley Council right in the early years not only concerned itself with the revision of the conditions of employment but also gladly showed the responsibility with the Government for attempting a complete reorganization of the civil service after the war. This sharing of a big responsibility for the first time by the staff

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2. B.V. Humphreys, *Clerical Unions in the Civil Service* (1958), p. 128.
3. *Ibid.*

with the Government made the former develop a positive frame of mind rather than possess only a bargaining attitude. Mr. Houghton points out that attempting a constructive piece of work by a Whitley body, right when it is still in its infancy, is highly conducive to the development of a positive outlook and sound traditions.[4] Despite certain achievements, however, Whitley bodies had to face two main difficulties in their early years. First, the representatives of the Government and of the staff in Whitley Councils could not get rid of their old complexes altogether. Sir Albert Day describes the situation thus :

> "The old style administrator too k hardly to the idea of submitting himself to cross-examination, criticism and possibly personal attack by representatives of his subordinates. He mourned, no doubt, the good old days when the administrator need give only his decision and not his reasons. The staff side, on the other hand, superior in forensic skill, were apt to use it without forbearance. The newly-won opportunities for controversy went perhaps a little to their heads".[5]

The second difficulty was that the various staff associations represented on the staff side of the various Whitley Councils, could not always compose their differences and present unified and constructive views on questions under discussion in these councils.

During the inter-war years these two difficulties exercised some restraining influence upon the Whitley bodies. But it may be added that with the passage of years these difficulties lost some of their weight. It was, however, during World War II that a distinct change for the better came over and it has been sustained in the post-war period. The representatives of the Government and the staff have a more positive and constructive attitude towards each other as well as more mutual confidence than was the case in the past. Gradually, the staff associations have also developed more corporate spirit.

Today, Whitleyism has numerous admirers and enthusiastic adherents in both the camps, i.e., management and staff. It may be of interest to listen to the testimony of at least a few leading representatives of each side. Sir Thoman Padmore, a high-ranking administrator, remarks that though the Whitley system is still to overcome a few

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4.   Douglas Houghton, *Whitley Councils in the British Civil Service*, lecture delivered at the Indian Institute of Public Administration, New Delhi, on December 10, 1957.

5.   Sir Albert Day was the Chairman of the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council for a number of years. This extract is from his talk on 'Negotiation & Joint Consultation in the Civil Service' which was published in the *Whitley Bulletin* (July 1953), Vol. XXXIII, No. 7, p. 102.

obstacles, there is no doubt that the system pays at present "more than respectable dividends to all concerned".[6] Mr. Winnifrith, another top civil servant, expresses the view that "virtues far outweigh the faults" of the system which is no doubt an effective instrument for the regulation of conditions of service by the democratic method of joint consultations".[7]

Similar optimistic note is struck by the representative of the staff. Mr. James Callaghan, M.P.,[8] points out that there is a widespread feeling among numerous civil servants that Whitley bodies have been valuable in many ways and that their value is growing. Mr. Douglas Houghton, M.P., holds the view that Whitleyism "has not perhaps lived up to the full grandeur of its original objects and functions" but despite this limitation it has made the civil service more contented than in the past.[9] He adds that the "cumulative total of constructive work done by Whitley Councils at all levels during the past thirty-five years is enormous".

Some critical observers are of the view that Whitleyism has been, on the whole, a higher success in the civil service as compared with similar experiments in industries in regard to joint consultations and negotiations. Two chief reasons are responsible, according to them, for this situation. First, "the lack of a profit motive, the absence of a definitive line between an employee and employer class and the wish of the Government not to appear too much less than a model employer are all internal factors conducive to a more liberal approach to management-staff relationships".[10] Second, the civil service staff associations have not thought of resorting to strikes[11] as has been the case with the industrial workers' unions but have always shown patience and perseverance with the existing arrangements for consultation, negotiation and arbitration for the settlement of questions and controversies. Civil Servants, perhaps everywhere, by nature like to avoid extreme action unless they find themselves faced with a very rigid and exasperating attitude on the part of their employer or unless they become playthings in the hands of political parties or pressure groups.

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6. Sir Thomas Padmore, 'Civil Service Establishments and the Treasury, in Robson (*ed.*), *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, p. 137.

7. A.J.D. Winnifrith, 'Negotiation and Joint Consultation in the Civil Service', *Whitley Bulletin* (July 1953), Vol. XXXIII, No. 7, p. 106.

8. James Callaghan, *Whitleyism (A Study of Joint Consultation in the Civil Service)* p. 36.

9. Douglas Houghton, 'Whitley Councils in the Civil Service', in W.A. Robson (*ed.*), *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, London, Hogarth Press, 1956, p. 148.

10. B.V. Humphreys, *Clerical Unions in the Civil Service*, p. 129.

11. Strike is not illegal in England but there has been practically no strike—(only once there was a minor one by a small section of civil servants).

(2) *Work and Organization of Whitley Councils*

The objective of the National Whitley Council has been defined thus : "to secure the greatest measure of co-operation between the State as employer and the general body of civil service, with a view to increased efficiency in the public service combined with the well-being of those employed: to provide machinery for dealing with grievances and generally to bring together the experience and different points of view of representatives of administrative, clerical and manipulative civil service".[12]   It is obvious from this objective that the National Council can discuss a wide variety of questions of common interest to both the Government and their employees.   The chief problems which have been coming up for discussion at the Council may be summed up as :

    (*a*) Structure, grading of posts, recruitment, methods and procedures, training and further education;

    (*b*) Salary, retirement benefits and fringe benefits;

    (*c*) Promotion;

    (*d*) Discipline;

    (*e*) Working conditions.

While the National Council discusses these problems and negotiates about them (salary etc.) in regard to the civil service as a whole, the Departmental Councils which numbered ninety in 1955[13] discuss the problems in a smaller way.   A Departmental Council, for instance, would consider the problem of promotion from one grade to the other within a particular department.   On the other hand, the National Council would consider the problem of promotion within the civil service as a whole.   In other words, to avoid overlapping or friction a clear-cut line of demarcation between the respective jurisdictions of the National Council and Departmental Councils is necessary.

According to the constitution of the National Whitley Council and also of the Departmental Councils the problems are to be discussed in general terms only.   In actual practice, however, some Departmental Councils discuss even individual cases. For example, a Council may be asked by the Management to look through the promotion list prepared by the latter and suggest any modifications.   This is done in order to win the goodwill of the staff representatives in the Whitley Council by making them feel that the Management wants to be fair to individual employees.

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12.   *Staff Relations in the Civil Service*,   (H.M. Treasury) Appendix III (The Constitution of the National Whitley Council).

13.   W.J. Mackenzie & J.W. Grove, Longmans, ͺGreen, London, 1957, *Central Administration in Britain*, p. 142.

There are also numerous District Whitley Committees and Office Whitley Committees within a Department.[14] An Office Whitley Committee deals with such matters as concern the welfare of the staff employed in an office, *e.g.* canteen facilities. These District Office Committees generally report to their respective Departmental Councils.

As regards consultations and negotiations about the question of salary the Whitley Councils are now assisted by the findings of the Pay Research Unit which was set up recently as the result of the recommendations of the Priestley Commission (1953-55). The Commission had suggested a new formula for the determination of salaries of civil servants—"fair comparisons with rates of pay and conditions of service in comparable work outside the civil service". This formula is expected to provide for automatic adjustments in the civil service salaries when outside wages go up due to any rise of prices, etc. An institution is therefore needed to collect facts and figures about ouside wages and condition of service on the basis of which the Whitley Councils could take decisions in regard to any need for changes in civil service salaries. This institution, called the Civil Service Pay Research Unit, works under the general supervision of a joint Whitley Committee of the National Whitley Council. The work of the Unit is directed by the Joint Committee.

Coming to the organization of the Whitley bodies, we find that each Whitley Council is composed of two parties—one is called the Official Side, the other Staff Side. The Official Side consists of the representatives of the Government while the Staff Side those of the employees. For getting a clear picture it may be useful to analyse the representation in the National Whitley Council as an illustration. There are fifty-four members in all, half being drawn from the Government and the other half from the staff associations respectively. The representatives of the Government are mostly permanent heads of Departments and a number of higher civil servants from the Treasury. The official head of the civil service—*i.e.*, Joint Permanent Secretary of the Treasury—is the chairman of the Official Side as well as the chairman of the National Whitley Council as a whole. On the Staff Side of the Council we find that the twenty-seven representatives are selected according to the agreement arrived at between a number of staff associations of the various categories of civil servants. Only very few staff associations do not participate in, or are not allowed to participate, in the making of this agreement which forms the basis of

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14. One more body has been set up recently to deal with salaries above £ 2,000 a year. It is composed of five persons nominated by the Prime Minister and it advises the Government about the revision of these higher salaries.

representation on the National Council. Most of the staff representatives are from among the whole-time employees of the staff associations as they can have enough time to devote to the work of the National Council and are also free from any civil service restraints so as to be more frank in the expression of their views publicly.

The National Whitley Council meets rarely in recent years. Much of the work is carried on through Committees and day-to-day contact between the leading members of both Sides. This practice makes for flexibility and informality in the consideration of personnel problems of mutual interest to the Government and the employees. Of course, the presence of the Council in the background is not without utility—it provides an unconscious pressure on those engaged in consultations and negotiations to arrive at agreements.

The success of Whitleyism depends very largely upon the adoption by both Sides of a policy of "co-operation and compromise rather than controversy and contention".[15] Not only this but they have to be responsible in their dealings, rather than dodge a complex issue or adopt other dilatory tactics. They have to treat the agreements as 'joint handiwork' rather than impositions from outside. The Official Side has to exercise due care to implement the agreements not only in letter but also in spirit. It has also to resist the temptation of taking any unilateral action in regard to any unforeseen issues arising out of these agreements. It has also to desist from exploiting any differences which may arise between some associations and the Staff Side of a Whitley Council. The Staff Side on its part has to exercise proper self-restraint in regard to any matter which has not been settled to its satisfaction. Its members are not to indulge in bitter public agitations or in political lobbying but keep the matter 'within the family'. Such care prevents the alienation of the Official Side and the creation of unnecessary complications.

Both Sides have not only to try to agree with each other but also to carry the support of the authorities behind them respectively. Behind the Official Side lies the authority of the Cabinet in the case of National Council and that of the Minister in the case of Departmental Council. While minor matters may be handled by the Official Side on its own responsibility—discretion has been delegated to it for this purpose, on major issues the Official Side has to seek the approval of the Cabinet or Minister as the case may be before it can initiate or participate in discussions or reach agreements with the Staff Side. Hence, mutual trust and understanding between the Ministers and

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15. Day, "Negotiation & Joint Consultation in the Civil Service", *Whitley Bulletin* (July 1953), Vol. XXXIII, No. 7, p.103.

higher civil servants is necessary if delays are to be avoided. Again, informal consultations on the Official Side take place from time to time to evolve a common view in regard to matters under discussion in a Whitley Council. This is necessary so as to avoid confusion in the proceedings of the Council.

On the Staff Side the attainment of a corporate spirit, as pointed out earlier, is a fairly complex problem. The members of this Side are drawn from staff associations representing different classes of civil servants and in some cases their interests may not always be in harmony with one another. Moreover, these representatives have to consult and seek the support of their associations before committing themselves on any important matter. In actual practice the Staff Side meets periodically to evolve unified views and sometimes even voting takes place in the meetings. Members of the Side have to remain in close touch with their associations. Sometimes, particular associations may be reluctant to "sacrifice their sectional points of view and take a wider viewpoint" but, luckily, as pointed out in an official publication, "reluctance has often been overcome, and only an incurable pessimist would doubt that it will be increasingly overcome by the very existence of Whitley Councils".[16]

Persuasion and compromise, in other words, play a vital part in the evolution of common views on the Staff Side and in this process leadership of the chairman and secretary-general has a big contribution to make. Again, difficulties sometimes arise when the organizations not represented on the Staff Side begin to challenge the discussions or agreements of a Whitley Council. A few such situations have arisen but ultimately difficulties have been overcome by the insistence of the Official Side to treat the Staff Side as representing the Staff as a whole and also by the adoption of a reasonable attitude by the Staff Side towards recalcitrant associations. There is a lot of truth in the assertion that "Whitleyism, in fact, will work as well as it can when civil servants of all grades and classes are willing to come together, on a democratic basis, to work for interest that they genuinely feel themselves to hold in common". In other words, the cultivation of will to co-operate among staff associations is absolutely necessary if Whitleyism is to succeed.

(3) *Advantages and Shortcomings*

It is claimed that Whitleyism has been valuable in more than one way. First, it has provided a suitable platform to civil servants to

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16. H.M. Treasury, *Staff Relations in the Civil Service, p.13.*

express their views in regard to their conditions of service. They need no longer indulge in much political lobbying to make the members of Parliament goad the Government for a revision of those conditions. But they can now talk to the representatives of the Government face to face and use their collective strength in getting their viewpoints adequately considered. Political neutrality of the Civil Service gains by this avoidance of political lobbying.

Second, it is also said that Whitleyism creats goodwill and understanding between the Management and Staff. Sir Thomas Padmore's words are pertinent in this connection. According to him the "fund of goodwill which flows from action by consent" has been contributing "to the maintenance and raising of morale" which is so essential to efficiency in administration.[17]

Third, it is argued that efficiency improves because personnel policies become more progressive when the Management normally responsible for their formulation has also the benefit of the views of the Staff to whom these policies are ultimately going to effect. Mr. Winnifrith, who is intimately concerned with the framing of personnel policies in the British Civil Service, stresses this point: "Quite frankly I am ready to admit that the Management, if only because of its amateur status, does not always know what is best. It is, therefore, of the utmost value to the Management Side to have the benefit of informed staff opinion before introducing any changes in conditions of service."[18]

Fourth, it is said that parliamentary and public criticism of personnel management grows less intense when personnel and even some managerial matters are the subject-matter of joint consultations between the Management and the Staff in Whitley Councils. To quote Mr. Winnifrith again : "Agreement with the staff is of course not the complete answer to Parliamentary criticism but quite obviously if agreement has been reached on any particular feature in the code, the fact that there has been such agreement goes a long way in reply to any criticism".[19] This exercise of reasonable self-restraint on the part of Parliament is conducive to morale as well as to the decentralization of powers within an administration.

The setting up of Whitley Councils has also been a helpful factor in extending the control and supervision of the Treasury over the

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17. Winnifrith, 'Negotiation and Joint Consultation in the Civil Service', *Whitley Bulletin*, Vol. XXXIII, p. 104.

18. Ibid, p.104.

19. Padmore, 'Civil Service Establishments and the Treasury' in Robson (*ed.*). *The Civil Service in Britain and France*, *op. cit.*, p.137.

varying conditions of service which formerly existed in different departments even for the same job. A "high degree of central control and management of conditions of service" necessitated by the existence of Whitley bodies has strengthened the trend towards a unified civil service[20] which has been developing since World War I in particular though its beginning can be traced to the fifties of the last century when Northcote-Trevelyan Report was published.

Supporters of Whitleyism point out that it has contributed to the strengthening of staff associations, to the growth of a spirit of unity among them and to making their attitude towards Management healthier. There is a considerable substance of truth in Sir Albert Day's remarks when he says : "The staff movement is much more harmonious, thanks to Whitleyism, than it used to be, and is imbued with a sense of common purpose and corporate responsibility once woefully lacking. Strong differences are sometimes revealed, of course, and occasionally there may be quite a blow-off. But I expect that can happen on the Official Side as well as, though in a House of Lords sort of way."[21]

But some shortcomings still remain in British Whitleyism. There is a complaint that the Staff Side is not readily willing "to concede reforms designed to simplify administration" if these reforms are likely to "result in a loss to any section of staff". This tendency naturally "discourages the management from proposing simplification at all".[22] Managerial efficiency tends to suffer by any unreasonable opposition of the Staff Side to proposals within a Whitley body regarding simplification of administrative organization and procedures which may also result in retrenchment or downgrading of posts. Because of the fear of this opposition, the Management at time may not propose these things at all.

Critics also point out that there is a tendency at times for both the Official and Staff Sides to take only a current or a short-term view of things which come up for discussions. Mr. Winnifrith points out that this is due to the fact that "both sides have so much to think about in the form of current problems that they don't devote enough time and energy to such reflections".[23] This may not always be the case, yet this is a shortcoming which needs to be looked into.

Again, although staff associations have been learning, by and large, to co-operate among themselves in order to evolve a unified view

20. Winnifrith *op. cit.*, p.106.
21. Day, *op. cit.*, p.103.
22. *Ibid.*
23. *Ibid*

on the questions under discussion, yet the danger of the breaking out of violent differences is not yet over. At times, a few associations have tended to defy the Staff Side of the Whitley Council. The situation, therefore, needs vigilance and tactful handling. Finally, a suspicion tends to lurk in some minds occasionally that there are still a few members of the Official Side who lack adequate imagination and self-confidence in their work at Whitley Councils. This causes at times unnecessary delay in the disposal of the matters under discussion. Cultivation of a positive frame of mind by these persons has to be stimulated.

(4) *The Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal*

If a country introduces a system of joint consultations and negotiations within her administrative system, it is almost essential that it should also have an arbitration tribunal to which disputes may be referred when consultations and negotiations fail—to result in mutually acceptable agreements. In Britain there is such a tribunal called the Civil Service Arbitration Tribunal which was set up in 1936.[24] The Chairman of the Tribunal is selected from among leading lawyers. There are two other members—one drawn from the panel selected by the Staff Side of the National Whitley Council, the other from the panel nominated by the Official Side of the Council. In theory, however, the members of the tribunal are nominated by the Minister of Labour. The Chairman of the Tribunal can give an umpire's verdict in the event of disagreement between the two members.

The Tribunal deals with cases of salaries referred to it not by individuals but by Whitley Councils or staff associations. But disputes regarding salaries ranging above £1,450 a year are outside the purview of the Tribunal at present but this limit can be changed from time to time. Disputes may be taken to the Tribunal by the parties together or by any one of them. The Tribunal has played a useful role but only in a limited sense. The mechanism has proved successful in suggesting small adjustment in salary scale which are needed to change in outside conditions within the country. Now that the Pay Research Unit has been set up to collect facts for the need for adjustments, it is doubtful whether the Tribunal would still play even as much role in this connection as in the past. So far as the general overhaul of salary structure is concerned the Tribunal cannot be much useful as this has to be attempted either by the National Whitley Council or a specially appointed Royal Commission in Britain.

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24. Before 1936 too, there were arrangements for arbitration; a Division of the Industrial Court dealt with complaints about emoluments.

WHITLEYISM AT THE LOCAL LEVEL[25]

In 1955 there were nearly fifteen hundred Local Authorities in England and Wales alone, employing nearly one million and a quarter persons in extensively diverse jobs. In theory, each Local Authority has the power to recruit its own staff and determine their terms of employment. Only in a few cases—such as the members of the Police force or of Fire Services—the Government have a statutory control, in the interest of administrative efficiency, over conditions of service. In actual practice, however, terms of employment of the local government employees are determined by general consultatives among the Local Authorities and by negotiation between these Authorities collectively and the employees' association in specially constituted bodies called Joint Councils and Committees. The Government has also set up negotiating bodies for the group of employees whose terms of employment they have the power to regulate.

The idea of negotiations as the basis for determination of terms of employment for the Local Government employees began to spread after the World War I, as the result of the recommendations of the Whitley Committee referred to earlier in this article. But the idea made only a slow headway at the municipal level due to the indifference of the Local Authorities and also the lack of not only unity but also a compromising attitude among the staff unions. Only a few negotiating bodies for some categories of employees were set up but even their operations achieved a limited success in improving as well as in standardizing, to some extent, the conditions of service. It was, however, during World War II and after that things began to move faster at the local level. In 1940, the promulgation of the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order exerted a pressure upon Local Authorities to become willing to negotiate with employees collectively in order to ensure uniformity of wages between the Local Authority employees and the employees of other Public Authorities in every geographical area. This Order is popularly called the 'National Charter for the Local Government Service'.[26] Again, the "wartime shortages of labour and the necessity to eliminate disputes made the machinery for settling wages a matter of interest to central Departments as well as to local authorities."[27] The result of this active interest on the part of the parties concerned was the reorganization, extension and

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25. Discussion here is confined only to local governments in England and Wales.

26. J.H. Warner, *Municipal Administration* (London, 1955), p.170.

27. Mrs. Marjorie McIntosh, 'The Negotiation of Wages and Conditions of Service, for Local Authority Employees in England and Wales', *Public Administration* (R.I.P.A.), Vol. XXXIII (1955), p.150.

revitalization of negotiating bodies. The existing ones were reconstituted while additional twenty-nine were set up from 1945 onwards, bringing the total to thirty-seven in 1955.

The negotiating bodies organized for Local Authorities and their employees on a national basis are called National Joint Councils, Joint National Councils and by some other names. They differ among themselves. The main differences are :

(*i*) Some of the negotiating bodies have been set up as the result of negotiations between the associations of the Local Authorities and those of their employees. The decisions of these bodies are not binding upon the two parties concerned but these are, by and large, accepted in actual practice. Two examples of this type of negotiating bodies are the Administrative, Professional, Technical and Clerical Council and the Manual Workers (Non-trading) Council. Then there is the second category of negotiating bodies which have been set up either by law or by voluntary agreement to assist the Ministers in the exercise of their statutory powers in regard to the determination of conditions of service for certain group of local employees.

(*ii*) Some of the negotiating bodies cover all the Local Government employees all over Britain while others are only for those working in England and Wales. Again, a few of these bodies are for Local Authorities only while others are common for Local Authorities and some other Public Authorities.

(*iii*) While the management side of a negotiating body draws representatives from the various associations of Local Authorities and a regional negotiating committee if there is one, the employees side may draw members from staff unions or both from such unions and the professional organizations.

(*iv*) While many of the national negotiating bodies are unitary in their organization, some have a quasi-federal structure—*i.e.*, a national body with a number of attached Provincial or District Committees or Councils.

The negotiating bodies for the Local Government employees differ in some ways from the Whitley Councils existing in the national administration. In the former case the Management Side consists of the representatives of a very large number of semi-autonomous

Local Authorities, while in the latter case the Official Side consists of the representatives of only one employer, *i.e.*, the Government. The evolution of a common management viewpoint is obviously more difficult and complex in the case of these negotiating bodies than in that of Whitley Councils. Again, the evolution of a corporate spirit on the employees' side in the negotiating bodies is also difficult as compared with the position in Whitley Councils. This is due to the fact that in the case of the former the representatives are drawn not only from the staff unions but also from professional organizations.

The result of this difference in the internal organization of the negotiating bodies and Whitley Councils is the cause of delay in arriving at decisions and in their implementation. Decisions cannot be reached quickly if corporate spirit on each of the two sides is lacking. Again, when the decisions are not to be implemented by one employer but a large number of employers with varying financial resources and psychology, implementation becomes both dilatory and complex.

The interests of the Whitley Council also appear to be wider than those of the negotiating bodies at the level of Local Government. The former discuss many aspects of the personnel management in the national administration, though mostly in general terms, the latter are concerned chiefly with negotiating for salaries and other conditions of service.

There is a provision for arbitration, in the municipal administration as well. When a deadlock takes place in a negotiating body which cannot be resolved even by the intervention of the Labour Minister, the disputes are referred to the Industrial Court or Industrial Disputes Tribunal, according to the nature of the case. Arrangements for arbitration, as pointed out earlier have to go hand-in-hand with any system of consultations and negotiations if breakdown in the system are to be reduced.

The existence of the system of negotiations in the municipal administration of England has been of advantage in two chief ways. First, it has led to a growing uniformity (with due allowance for regional and financial consideration) and improvement in the conditions of service of the numerous employees of hundreds of different employers, *i.e.*, Local Authorities. These developments have facilitated not only the raising of morale but also the mobility of the staff from one Local Authority to the other. Municipal efficiency has thus gained. Second, since collective bargaining cannot take place effectively without proper and systematic representation of the employees on the negotiating bodies, the staff unions have gained in extent, number and strength since they are to provide largely this representation. Sharing of

responsibility in these bodies has also not failed to make the staff unions less negative in their attitude.

Some critics are of the view[28] (which the present writer shares on the basis of his own field observations) that the system of negotiating bodies at the municipal level in England suffers from three main shortcomings. First, one has already been pointed out earlier, *i.e.,* occurance of delay in making and implementing decisions. Second, there is too much of centralization in decision-making in regard to the conditions of service. Decisions are taken in the isolation of a negotiating body without, in some cases, active consultations with all the Local Authorities. Employees do not feel enthusiastic for their employers even after a wage rise as a decision about it has been taken by a negotiating body which may not have an intimate and living contact with the Local Authorities. Third, there are too many negotiating bodies for the municipal employees—about 37 of them in 1955 in England and Wales. The result of this too much fragmentation in decision-making about conditions of service is the lack of a co-ordinated approach and the existence of spirit of competitiveness among the negotiating bodies. Again, the existence of a large number of negotiating bodies puts a strain on the availability of well-qualified men to serve on them. Let it not be forgotten that the success of negotiating body largely depends upon the human factor. Persons who serve on each side of a body are to be those who possess knowledge and experience, an open mind and a spirit of compromise as well as time and skill for negotiations. Since the negotiating bodies at the municipal level do not possess adequate corporate spirit both on the management side and the employees' side, the task of negotiator is even more difficult in these bodies than is the case in Whitley Councils.

There is thus a need for integration and overhaul of the negotiating bodies operating at the municipal level. The aims should be to prevent too much centralization as well as fragmentation of decisions, to reduce delays in negotiation and implementation of decisions and to avoid too much strain on the human and financial resources of the Local Authorities. At present the achievements of Whitleyism in the municipal administrations are less impressive than its success in the national administration. Rethinking, planning and reorganization are, therefore, very much needed for making a better success of Whitleyism at the municipal level in England.

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28. See, for instance, the comments of:
    (a) Mrs Marjorie McIntosh in her three articles on the "Negotiations of Wages and Conditions of Service for Local Authority Employees in England and Wales, in *Public Administration* (London), Vol. XXXIII (1955)
    (b) L. Krammer, "Reflection on Whitleyism in English Local Government", *Public Administration* ,Vol. XXXVI (1958).

CORRESPONDENCE

SERVICES' ORGANIZATION & ADMINISTRATION

The Editor,
I.J.P.A.

Sir,

Shri *M.S. Ramayyar* has, in his highly informative and interesting article on "Financial Control Over Expenditure in the Central Government", published in the last issue of your *Journal*, made the following observations in regard to the division of functions concerning "Public Service" between the Union Ministries of Home Affairs and Finance : "As all matters relating to service problems are settled only in consultation between the Ministries of Home Affairs and Finance, this leads to cross-references between these two Ministries and consequent delays. The entrustment of responsibility to the Ministry of Home Affairs over Public Services in general and the All India Services in particular was natural in the period before transfer of power when the primary responsibility of Government was the maintenance of internal security. Whether the overlap of functions between the two Ministries and consequent delays in service matters cannot be avoided and the United Kingdom model followed deserves early and serious consideration" (*I.J.P.A.*, Vol. V, No. 1., p.35).

The above reference to the overlap of functions between the Ministries of Finance and Home Affairs in matters relating to public services is not very clear. Perhaps what is meant is that while the Ministry of Finance has the final say in the matter of creation of new services and determination of grades and scales of pay, strength of cadres, and conditions of service, the Ministry of Home Affairs is responsible for setting of common standards or patterns of recruitment, discipline, etc. The Ministry of Home Affairs is also responsible for the administration of All India Services (*e.g.*, the Indian Administrative Service, the Indian Police Service, etc.) and the Central Secretariat Services. All orders concerning these services, even if they relate to fixation of pay, travel and leave concessions, or pension benefits, are issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs, after a fuller consultation with the Ministry of Finance, of their financial implications. The latter consultations are many a time protracted and result in 'compromise decisions' and delays. (The day-to-day administration of individual services rests with the Ministries concerned.)

The above division of functions between the Finance and Home Ministries in regard to the organization and administration of the public services, is, it is generally agreed, far from satisfactory. Perhaps what *Shri Ramayyar* recommends is an 'absolute and comprehensive' control over all these functions by one single ministry—the Ministry of Finance, on the lines obtaining in Great Britain.[1] The unified arrangements in this respect in that country briefly are as follows : "The Treasury is organized in two components : the service and the financial wings. The service wing is responsible for policy

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1. Samuel H. Beer, *Treasury Control*, Oxford, London, 1957, p.11.

relating to recruitment, promotion and retirement. It deals with questions relating to manpower generally, and in particular with pay scales, conditions of service, grading of administrative, professional, scientific and technical classes of the Civil Service. These functions are arranged in several sections in the Establishment Division of the Treasury. In addition, there are the two important divisions of Organization and Methods and of Training and Education. The Organization and Methods Division provides and co-ordinates organization and method services for a large number of departments. Incorporated in this division is the machinery of government branch, a small unit which undertakes inquiries into the structure of government organization and into the division of functions between departments. The Training and Education Division is responsible for general questions of training in the Civil Service and for arranging central courses, mainly for Assistant Principals and certain other senior grades."[2]

The solution proposed by *Shri Ramayyar* for resolving the present difficulties in regard to administration of services is too simple and naive. It does not take into account the historical, political and economic circumstances which have led to the present arrangements, it also fails to meet the challenge of the new forces of democracy, development and socialism which are gradually transforming the nature and functions of our state and demanding a fundamental readjustment in the administrative organization and methods of our Government.

* * *

The problem of creation and administration of public services has three main aspects : (1) financial, (2) personnel, and (3) structural. The 'financial' aspect ought to, as it is at present, be taken care of by the Ministry of Finance. The 'personnel' aspect covers a wide range of matters than what are at present dealt with by the Ministry of Home Affairs—in addition to recruitment, training and discipline, it includes the promotion system, work incentives, morale, employee organization, and human relations in administration. The latter personnel matters do not seem to have received any sustained and considered attention in the Ministry of Home Affairs; they appear to have been dealt with on an *ad hoc* basis as and when the necessity arose. The scant attention paid to these problems by the Ministry of Home Affairs may be partly due to the fact that the Ministry has tried to exercise ultimate control both over the 'financial' and 'personnel' aspects of services' organization and administration. This tendency is, in effect, the logical outcome of the system of 'establishment work' as prevailing in India. Establishment work, in Indian administration as in the British, comprises two main elements : expenditure of funds and staffing matters. In the United States of America, however, these two matters are dealt with separately. The 'personnel' function there is not so much full of 'financial' contents as in India and the U.K.

The 'structural' aspect of public services is at present looked after also by the Ministry of Finance which, of late, has developed a special agency, known as the Special Reorganization Unit to make use of modern techniques of work study for purposes of determination and evaluation of standards of performance

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2. Asok Chanda, *Indian Administration*, George Allen and Unwin, London, 1958, p. 207.

and determination of staff complements. Surprisingly enough this Unit seems to have paid little attention to the problems of the structure of services, span of control, etc.

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In my opinion, the real solution to the problem of the services' organization and administration lies not in the kind of unified arrangements obtaining in the U.K., but in entrusting its three major aspects to three distinct and separate governmental authorities, *i.e.*, the financial aspect to Ministry of Finance, the 'personnel' aspect to the Ministry of Home Affairs and the 'structural' aspect to the O & M Division of the Cabinet Secretariat. The change in the nature and scope of governmental functions and the need for adjusting administrative institutions and practices to the new forces of democracy, development and socialism, both of them point clearly to the futility of our transplanting any foreign institutions and practices and to the desirability of evolving organizational patterns and work methods best suited to the scale and content of our growing needs. In this connection it may be worthwhile to recall some of the recommendations made by Dean Paul H. Appleby. His recommendations may not be based, as some point out, on a fuller survey of the entire administrative universe, but they reveal an unparalleled depth of administrative insight and a unique breadth of administrative vision. Mr. Appleby, in his first report of 1953, listed the important personnel and structural ills as follows :[3] (1) "The structure within ministries is ill-designed for delegation". (2) Too little attention is given to the

important matter of developing the potentialities of subordinate employees already in service of government. Diversification of experience, opportunities for part-time schooling, and small promotions in responsibility as frequently as growth justifies these matters need more attention". (3) "Assignments of personnel to particular jobs are made too impersonally, too remotely from the point of responsibility for what is done on the job, and with too little regard for the emotional pulls of individuals towards certain kinds of assignments. At almost all levels of the public service it seems to be too much assumed that one person of a certain 'class' is equal to another person of that class". (4) "Personnel so selected are arranged self-consciously in too firm 'classes' and too firm and too many special 'services' with barriers between classes and services too high. There is, in consequence, too little sense of one public service, and too much jealousy".

In a departmental note on 'Morale at Subordinate Levels', subsequently published in the issue of this *Journal* for April-June 1957,[4] Mr. Appleby attributed the lower morale at subordinate levels to the failure of the people in upper ranks to demonstrate a lively interest in subordinates, both individually and collectively, the inadequacy of the internal communication system, the slowness of promotions, the greater emphasis on seniority than on merit, the ineffectiveness of in-service and orientation training programmes, etc. These and various personnel problems highlighted by Mr. Appleby deserve not only special consideration of Government but also research. However, such consideration and

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3. *Public Administration in India—Report of a Survey*, O & M Division, Cabinet Secretariat, 1953, p. 23 and p. 12.

4. *I.J.P.A.*, Vol. III, No. 2, pp. 97-98.

research can grow and flourish only if the Ministry of Home Affairs was to divest itself of its present responsibilities in regard to the financial aspect of the problem of services' organization and administration and leave them totally to the Ministry of Finance. Research on personnel matters listed above, in particular on human relations in services, is vitally important if we have to develop methods and practices suitable for the particular circumstances of our developing economy; results of research borrowed from other countries can be of little avail. *It is doubtful if such personnel research will take the required form, and the human relations orientation so vital to it, if the personnel aspect of the public services was also transferred to the Ministry of Finance, as Shri Ramayyar contemplates. Finance men, as a rule, are too much money-oriented to have the right type of attitude for devising policies and measures for, what Mr. Appleby calls, 'personnel development'.*

* * *

What is true of research in regard to purely personnel matters is equally true of research in respect of financial and organizational matters. One of the important recommendations made by Mr. Appleby in his second report was the development of "intraministerial financial competence in the programme agencies".[5] At the moment it does not appear the that the Ministry of Finance or the internal financial advisers in various Ministries have worked out any 'standard costs' for different types of projects in respect of different major

items of expenditure, such as office accommodation, staffing, office correspondence and communication etc. *Shri Ramayyar* does not enlighten us much on this point.

Similarly it is doubtful if the Special Reorganization Unit of the Ministry of Finance and the O & M Division of the Cabinet Secretariat have done any research or evolved any standard in regard to the hierarchical structures most suitable for administrative efficiency. Mr. Appleby, in his first report, recommended that "any normal pyramiding would suggest (except where Secretaries have non-administrative functions) about four Joint Secretaries to each Secretary and Additional Secretary, about four Deputy Secretaries to each Joint Secretary, about four Under Secretaries to each Deputy Secretary, and from four to seven Assistant Secretaries to each Under Secretary, with about the same number of section or unit heads under each Assistant Secretary."[6] Earlier, in 1949, Shri Gopalaswamy Ayyangar had recommended "As a broad rule of general application, I hold that a secretariat organization of three deputy secretaries, each in charge of one secretariat division, should be regarded as the ordinary upper limit of the manageable charge of a single secretary unassisted by a joint secretary. A similar organization with five deputy secretaries and five secretariat divisions with a wing located in it would be the ordinary upper limit of the manageable charge of one secretary assisted by a joint secretary".[7] We do not know what further research in the matter has been undertaken by the Government.

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5. Paul H. Appleby, *Re-examination of India's Administrative System with Special Reference to Administration of Government's Industrial and Commercial Enterprises,* Organization and Methods Division, Cabinet Secretariat, Government of India, 1956, p. 23.

6. *Public Administration in India—Report of a Survey, op. cit.,* p. 30.

7. N. Gopalaswamy Ayyangar, *Report on the Reorganisation of the Machinery of Government,* para 17.

Again, on the desirability of adjusting the staffing pattern to the requirements of special skill and greater speed, an experiment known as the 'Pilot Section' was started by the O & M Division sometime in August 1956. The public, however, is little aware of the success or otherwise attained by the scheme. Apparently, it would be too much to prescribe one or two patterns of staffing arrangements for different types of work varying in nature, quality, and volume of contents.

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For lack of space it does not seem practicable here to advance the arguments further. What has been said above amply underlines the importance of the need for research—in Finance, in Home and in O & M. Without such research it is not perhaps possible to give any final answer to the problem like the overlap between the Ministries of Finance and Home Affairs in matters of services' organization and administration.

For puposes of research on personnel matters, what is urgently needed is the creation of a research unit or division within the Ministry of Home Affairs. This unit or division may, to begin with, serve as a nucleus for personnel research, and its various research activities may, as they spread and grow, be transplanted in the various services' divisions within the Ministry of Home Affairs so as to make each of them, research-oriented. Whether the latter development will also call for some change in the staffing patterns will require to be looked into. These are again matters of detail. The proposal for initiation of research on personnel matters has been put forward in the columns of this esteemed *Journal*, hoping that it will catch the eye of the proper authorities. The writer will be grateful if the readers of the *Journal*, or the authorities concerned will come forward with their individual points of view or opinions.

Yours faithfully,
    S. Pal.

New Delhi,
May 18, 1959.

II

ROAD ADMINISTRATION IN INDIA

The Editor,
I.J.P.A.

Sir,

Shri R.A. Deshpande in his recent and interesting article in your *Journal* has pointed out the need for proper Road Administration in India (*IJPA*, Vol. V., No. I, January-March, 1959).

He has made a good point in emphasizing the necessity for creating a State Highway Department in every State of India. Highway planning and construction to meet he road transport needs is a supecialized work and should not be entrusted to the Public Works Departments of the States any more.

Instead of creating a 'Highway Board' in each State as recommended by Shri Deshpande it would perhaps be better if a unified 'Transport and Communications Department' is created. This would be similar to the Ministry of Transport and Communications in the Government of India having two wings—Communications and Transport. Such a department would not only be able to better understand the relationship between roads and the various types

of transport using them, it would also be able to distribute the profit for the development of roads and vehicles in a balanced manner.

It may further be added that due attention to the suitable personnel needs is equally important. No matter what technical improvements and organizational arrangements are brought about to improve administrative efficiency the desired results cannot be achieved without competent personnel.

The first requisite to attract suitable personnel for this department would be to offer them fair terms of service. In this connection Mr. Appleby's well known recommendations should be implemented.

<div align="right">Yours faithfully,
<i>Tejbir Khanna</i></div>

New Delhi,
May 11, 1959.

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Sir,

Shri Tejbir Khanna has suggested the creation of a unified Department of Transport and Communications in each State on the lines of the Ministry of Transport and Communications at the Centre, instead of Highway Boards as recommended by me. I have proposed the constitution of a Highway Board in preference to a departmental organization on account of the following reasons :—

(*a*) While suggesting the organizational set-up for the administration of the roads in the States, it is necessary to take into account the vital distinction in the sphere of duties and responsibilities between the States and the Centre in regard to the administration of roads. Whereas the Centre is only the co-ordinating authority, the States are the actual administering authorities and therefore a departmental set-up, which would be adequate to the needs at the Centre, may not be able to ensure adequate attention in the States, particularly in the context of the execution of a rapid Road Development Plan. Hence the administrative set-up will have to be much more vigorous and powerful as in the case of Railways. A high power body like the "Highway Board" is therefore proposed on the model of Railway Board.

(*b*) Road Transport is at present scattered in the administration of both track and operation. The management of track, *i.e.*, roads, is in the hands of several authorities and the operation is controlled by thousands of individuals. Road transport by its very nature is scattered but it is essential that for the proper functioning of both, there should be close and constant co-ordination. This can be achieved with advantage by including the Chairman of the nationalized State Road Transport in the "Highway Board" as recommended by me. In a departmental set-up, there is no place for the head of a nationalized transport, who is generally under an autonomous corporation. It must be remembered that Railways could improve their efficiency only because of their ability to co-ordinate the track and operation.

The Motor Transport Commissioner can only regulate the traffic but cannot ensure the development of road transport without the support of the transport operating authority.

(*c*) A Highway Board would be able to function as a self-sufficient unit balancing its income against expenditure over a longer period than is possible in a departmental organization.

(*d*) It is well recognized that a plural headed form of administrative authority permits a representation of more than one viewpoint in the formulation of policy and ensures satisfactory co-ordination and development.

In view of the above facts, I am of the opinion that a Highway Board is better suited to administer the Road Development Plan.

I agree with *Shri Khanna* that due attention is required to be given to the suitable needs of the personnel. It is only with this view, I have recommended the constitution of an "Indian Service of Highway Engineers" in my article referred to by him. This presupposes that the service conditions will be fair and attractive.

Yours faithfully,
R. A. Deshpande

Bangalore,
May 22, 1959.

RECENT TRENDS IN PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION

A notable recent development in the matter of the recruitment policy has been the Government of India's decision to fill in future the posts, in the organised engineering services under the Central Government as well as those outside such services, by yearly bulk selections by the Union Public Service Commission. For this purpose the Commission will prepare lists of candidates found fit for appointment to Class I or Class II posts, permanent and temporary.

The Council of Scientific and Industrial Research has established a Pool for temporary placement of well-qualified Indian scientists, technologists, engineers and medical personnel returning from abroad, until they are absorbed in suitable posts on a more or less permanent basis. Persons with Indian qualifications who had outstanding academic records were also eligible for appointment to the Pool. On the advice of the Union Public Service Commission, 123 persons have been selected for initial appointment to the Pool.

Statistics regarding the educational backgrounds of the Indian Administrative Service officers, as in May last year, reveal that out of the total strength of approximately 1,460 officers, 373 Indian Administrative Service officers had science or technical degrees.

The Union Ministry of Home Affairs has constituted a committee to assess the suitability of persons registered with the Delhi Employment Exchange for posts of Lower Division Clerks in the Central Secretariat and to draw up a panel of suitable persons from which the Employment Exchange would nominate candidates against the vacancies. The new arrangements would ensure a high standard in the quality of persons recruited and also avoid delay in recruitment.

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As regards training for public services, the Central Secretariat Training School, New Delhi, which conducts courses to familiarise Assistant Superintendents and Assistants, recruited directly, with Government work and routine, will admit hereafter 200 trainees instead of 100 as at present. In consultation with its Director, the Central O & M Division has finalised a standard syllabus for the departmental training of Lower Division Clerks employed in different Union Ministries and offices. The duration of the course shall be eight weeks and the total number of lectures would be sixteen (two lectures a week).

A three-week in-service training course to improve the quality and timely supply of educational statistics, received from the universities and States every year, was organised by the Union Ministry of Education in April last.

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Following a suggestion contained in the First Plan that when specific allegations are made in the Press against individual public officers, they should be asked to clear their names in courts, the Government of India has decided that when allegations are made in the Press or by individuals against a Government servant regarding his conduct while discharging

his "public functions", a preliminary confidential inquiry by a senior official should be ordered. If the confidential inquiry leads to the conclusion that the allegations are based "on ignorance, insufficient information or even malice", it should be further considered whether any legal action is necessary to vindicate the conduct of the public servant concerned. In some cases, mere publication of the results of the inquiry "may not always carry conviction with the public". However, if some legal action is decided upon, it should also be considered whether the government or the employee should initiate proceedings in a court. On the other hand, if after the inquiry, conclusive or otherwise, it is considered that there are "reasonable grounds to doubt the propriety and correctness of the conduct of the public servant, the case may be entrusted to the Special Police Establishment for investigation. Alternatively, the Government might order a full departmental inquiry under the Central Civil Services (Classification, Control and Appeal) Rules, or require the officer to vindicate his conduct by resorting to a court of law.

In *Andhra Pradesh*, the Government has issued Andhra Pradesh Government Servants' Conduct Rules in supersession of the Rules in force in the erstwhile Hyderabad State. The new Rules, among others, restrict the receipt of gifts to personal friends only and extend the restriction regarding promotion and management of companies, so far applicable to gazetted officers only, to all officers.

The *Bihar* Government Servants' Conduct Rules, 1956, have been amended to prohibit the use by a Government servant of any influence, directly or indirectly, to secure employment for any relation in any private firm with which he has official dealings or with any other firm having official dealings with the Government; he is also debarred, except with the previous sanction of the Government, from permitting his son, daughter or dependent to accept employment with any such private firm.

The *Kerala* Government has issued fresh instructions reiterating that stringent steps will be taken against those who violate the order prohibiting the utilisation of Grade IV Government employees for household and personal work of officers.

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The Government of *Bombay* has announced uniform pay-scales for primary teachers in the entire Bombay State, retrospective from April 1, 1958. For this purpose, all primary teachers in the employ of Government and local bodies have been divided into two categories—untrained and trained. Trained teachers are further classified into 'junior trained' and 'senior trained'.

The *Punjab* Government has decided to reduce the number of holidays from 33 to 9—3 national holidays and six others. The national holidays are Republic Day, Independence Day and Mahatma Gandhi's Birthday; other holidays which can be broken into half days may be made use of by the employees at their option. Casual leave has been reduced from 20 to an average of 15 days. For daily working hours, the year has been broken into two parts: *Winter* (September to April)—from 9 a.m. to 5.30 p.m. with a half-hour lunch break, and Saturdays and Sundays as off-days; *Summer* (May to August)—from 7 a.m. to 1.30 p.m. (no lunch break) with only Sunday as off-day.

* * *

In accordance with the advice of the Union Public Service Commission, tendered after its examination all the relevant records and the

report of the Board of Enquiry presided over by *Shri Justice Vivian Bose* in regard to the responsibility for the purchase by the Life Insurance Corporation, of shares, valued over Rs. 1.26 crores, of six concerns controlled by *Shri Haridas Mundhra*, the Government of India has decided to drop the charges against *Shri H.M. Patel*, I.C.S., formerly Principal Secretary, Ministry of Finance. The Commission had advised the Government to 'exonerate' *Shri Patel* as in its opinion no blame could be attached to him. However, one member of the U.P.S.C., dissenting with the majority opinion of the Commission, had endorsed the Bose Board's conclusion that the "charges against *Shri Patel* are proved" and had recommended his compulsory retirement.

In regard to *Shri G.R. Kamat*, formerly Chairman of the Life Insurance Corporation, the Government has, as held by the Vivian Bose Board and the U.P.S.C., accepted his "legal and technical liability" for the impropriety and the unbusinesslike nature of the transaction, but pointed out that he had been Chairman of the Corporation for barely three weeks when the transaction took place. The Government has agreed with the U.P.S.C.'s view that only the penalty of censure be imposed on him. The Union Public Service Commission had held that *Shri Kamat's* fault lay in placing too much reliance on the Managing Director, *Shri L.S. Vaidyanathan*, and not paying himself adequate attention to the fixing of the prices of the shares.

As regards the responsibility of the then Finance Minister, *Shri T.T. Krishnamachari*, the Government has expressed the view that the initiative for the purchase of the Mundhra shares did not emanate from him, and so far as the transaction was concerned "only the consti-

tutional responsibility of the Minister was attracted and as a consequence he resigned".

One of the main findings of the Vivian Bose Board of Enquiry and the Chagla Commission was that the object of the transaction was to help *Shri Mundhra;* and the only motive to help *Shri Mundhra* that suggested itself to the Vivian Bose Board, so far as the record before them went, was "a *quid pro quo* for the donations given by *Shri Mundhra* to the Congress funds and an attempt to fulfil promises made to him about the Kanpur Mills". The Union Public Service Commission is unanimous in disagreeing with this suggestion. It has observed that it "has been unable to find anything in the papers referred to it to support the view that the transaction was entered into as a *quid pro quo* for the 'generous gestures' of *Shri Mundhra...*". The Government of India has agreed with the view of the U.P.S.C.

The Government has also not agreed fully with the observations of the Vivian Bose Board that there was lack of regard for the autonomous working of the Life Insurance Corporation. The Government is of the view that "the responsibility for supervising, guiding and directing such corporations in order to ensure their proper working rests on the Government, who have to assume it in order to enable them to discharge their duty to Parliament".... It follows, therefore, "that the legal provisions should not be construed to prevent the Government from having recourse to other channels of communication, such as informal discussions or conferences".

* * *

The Road Transport Reorganisation Committee which was appointed in May 1958 with *Shri M.R. Masani*, M.P., as Chairman, has, in its

report, suggested that there should be a Transport Minister and a Transport Ministry in each State to deal exclusively with roads and road transport; the Ministry might have two wings: a roads wing under a Chief Engineer, and a transport wing under a Transport Commissioner. Wherever transport is nationalised its operation should be kept completely independent of the administration of the Motor Vehicles Act. A State Transport Advisory Committee should be established to advise on matters relating to the development of road transport.

The Committee appointed in January 1959 by the Government of India to examine the cost structure and efficiency of the Indian Airlines Corporation has reported that the general standards of the I.A.C. operations and the 'quality' of the transport offered to the public are very good, particularly when the low average level of fares is borne in mind; and that the I.A.C. provides a very satisfactory system of domestic air services in India. The Committee, however, finds that, in contrast to the commendable operating standards, the Corporation's planning and control of expenditure needs improvement. Here the main defects are a general lack of cost-consciousness in the organisation, inadequate budgetary planning, and deficiency in the system of controlling budgeted expenditure.

The Government of India has issued instructions to all the Union Ministries to effect maximum economy in the use of paper; a cut of 15% has been imposed on the scales prescribed for the issue of paper and paper-made articles of stationery to the Ministries. The Central O & M Division has, in consultation with the Central Economy Board, made certain suggestions for effecting economy in the printing and issue of invitations for various official functions.

The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha, in its 57th report, has called for a reorganisation of the present set-up of the Department of Central Excise which has grown haphazardly, employs more men than are necessary and follows archaic and cumbersome procedure. It has also recommended the appointment of a central excise reorganisation committee to undertake a comprehensive examination of the organisation and working of the Department on the lines of the Badhwar Committee on customs and the Tyagi Committee on direct taxes. The Estimates Committee of the Lok Sabha has, in another report, suggested the creation of a separate Ministry to administer the Union Territories, as the Committee feels that the Union Ministry of Home Affairs, with its enormous responsibilities such as law and order, public services, Zonal Councils and matters relating to High Courts and the Supreme Court, may not be able to devote the attention and care that the Union Territories require. In its examination of the Central Board of Revenue, the Committee has found that in combining the Secretariat functions of the Department of Revenue and administrative functions of the C.B.R. in the same persons in India, the purpose of the C.B.R. Act has been largely defeated.

In *Assam*, arrangement has been made for periodical meetings of Secretaries and Heads of Departments at an informal social level, with a view to promoting better inter-departmental understanding and discussion of common administrative problems, as also some basic rethinking about the tasks facing the State Government and about organisation and procedures most suited to meet them.

In *Bombay*, the State Government has constituted a study group to examine the administrative tasks

and problems which are likely to arise in the implementation of the Third Five Year Plan.

The *U.P.* Government has withdrawn, after more than a year's trial, the scheme under which Heads of Departments were required to obtain the orders of the Government by referring the files and not through correspondence by letters. The scheme was tried by way of experiment in three departments of the Secretariat (*viz.*, Forest, Irrigation and Education) and covered all matters except those relating to establishment. It was expected to lead to increased efficiency, quick disposal and economy, in expenditure. Although there was some economy, there was confusion, delay, inefficiency and lack of proper control; and the scheme had, therefore, been given up.

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In the field of local government, the trend for strengthening and development of popular bodies at the village and the block levels continues.

The Government of *Bihar* has set up a four-member committee to recommend a revised pattern for District Boards.

The *Mysore* Village Panchayats and Local Boards Bill, 1959, passed by the Mysore Legislative Council on May 2, is designed to give greater autonomy and more financial powers for village panchayats. The Bill also seeks to establish taluk boards; and the district boards will be abolished.

The Government of *Orissa* has decided to reorganise the Gram Panchayats on the basis of the report of the Gram Panchayats Inquiry Committee released on June 27 last.

In *Rajasthan*, the Government has decided to introduce democratic decentralisation at village, block and district levels, as recommended by the Balvantray Mehta Team for the study of Community Projects and National Extension Service, throughout the State with effect from October 2 this year. In each community development block, a new body, called the *Panchayat Samiti*, will be constituted, consisting of the sarpanchas of the village Panchayats and Chairmen of Municipalities with population of less than 8,000. Planning and execution of all development programmes at the block level will henceforth be the functions of the new popular body. At the district level the existing district boards will be abolished ; and a *Zila Parishad* will be set up to advise the Collector and District Magistrate, who is also the District Development Officer, on all matters relating to developmental activities at the district level. The *Parishad* will consist of all M.Ps. and M.L.As. of the district and Presidents of the *Panchayat Samitis* and Chairmen of larger Municipalities, and it will also supervise the working of the *Panchayat Samitis*. With effect from April 2, the Panchayat Department and the Directorate of Panchayats have been merged in the Development Department under the Development Commissioner-*cum*-Additional Chief Secretary. The post of Chief Panchayat Officer has been redesignated as Deputy Development Commissioner (Panchayats). The State Government has further set up a seven-member committee, with the State Director of Local Bodies as its Member-Secretary, to report on the inadequacy of local finances and to suggest measures for improvement.

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Some interesting observations and recommendations on the progress and administration of the

community development and national extension service programmes have been made in the reports of the committees which have gone into their working recently.

The Estimates Committee of the *Madhya Pradesh* Vidhan Sabha has, in its fifth report, observed that emphasis on different activities undertaken in block areas must be in proportion to their importance and according to their priority. The utmost emphasis should be laid on programmes of economic development, namely, agriculture, irrigation, co-operation and industrial training.

A non-official committee, appointed by the *Punjab* Government, has, in its recent report, described the administrative processes in the community projects and N.E.S. blocks as extravagant and wasteful, and it would like them "to go lock, stock and barrel". Not only is the administrative expenditure on the schemes far out of proportion to the actual results, but there is notable inability to generate the initiative of the people, as was originally intended. The Committee favours replacement of all governmental agencies functioning in the rural areas by consolidated units, integrated with the proposed local self-government super-structure that may come into being as a result of the State Government's consideration of recommendations of the Mehta Study Team. The Community Project Department should cease to function and the entire responsibility for co-ordinated work and arranging of funds should be assumed by the Local Self-Government Department.

The 12-man Committee, appointed by the *U.P.* Government under the chairmanship of *Shri Govind Sahai*, has reported that the main emphasis in the community development programmes has remained on "agriculture, work programmes and fulfilment of physical targets" while other aspects of life have not been emphasised. The Committee recommends reshaping of these programmes so as to "embrace all sections of the people and cover all aspects of life" and stresses the need of simplifying the administration from the village to the State level. The posts of the village level worker and the panchayat secretary may be combined. At the State level, the Committee recommends the integration of the departments of Industries, Information, Harijan Welfare, Social Welfare, Education, Public Health and Irrigation.

NEWS FROM ABROAD

An international seminar on 'Problems of Comparative Administration Related to Economic and Social Development' was convened at Cairo from April 21 to 29 by the National Planning Committee, Government of the United Arab Republic, and the Institute of Public Administration, Cairo, in co-operation with the Congress for Cultural Freedom. *Shri A.D. Gorwala* and *Shri L.P. Singh*, I.C.S., Member-Secretary, Pay Commission, Government of India, were the two participants from India.

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In the *U.K.*, the Government has approved increases in salary ranging from £200 to £1,000 a year, backdated to February 1, 1959, for civil servants in the higher ranks, as recommended by the Standing Advisory Committee on the Pay of the Higher Civil Service, under the chairmanship of *Lord Coleraine*. The Committee had followed the guidance given by the Royal Commission that the Civil Service should not set the pace for the salaries of senior staffs; the increases, it authoritatively explained, merely meant a catching-up on salary movements in industry and commerce. The main changes, in regard to the Administrative and Executive Class, are as follows :

In *Canada*, the Civil Service Commission, headed by *Mr. A.D.P. Heeney*, has, in a recent report, recommended reorganization of the Civil Service. The two basic changes proposed are : (*i*) the consolidation into one civil service, within a reasonable length of time, of more than 20 semi-independent Crown Corporations, boards, bureaus, commissions, and other agencies, and (*ii*) "systematic discussion" with employee organizations, giving civil servants greater participation in determining the conditions of their employment, and particularly with regard to pay. Other important recommendations made include : the Civil Service Act should establish the criteria upon which the Commission would base its recommendations, which would include pay-levels that are fair and reasonable, and high enough to attract personnel and keep them, that are comparable with those paid in private employment for comparable work, and that maintain the proper relationship between pay for various classes; more authority and freedom to individual departments in determining internal organization and staff requirements; periodic investigations and reports by the Commission on the organization of all departments for use by the Government in assaying the efficiency

Administrative	*Current (London) Rates*	*New Rates*
Permanent Secretary to Treasury	7,000*	8,700
	6,500**	7,500
Permanent Secretary	6,000	7,000
Deputy Secretary	4,250	5,000
Under Secretary	3,400	3,800
Assistant Secretary	2,200-2,700	2,400-3,000
Executive		
Heads of Major Establishments (broadbanded)	2,700-3,400	3,000-3,800
Principal Executive Officer	2,400	2,700

*Royal Commission recommendation.　　**If two posts (as at present.

and economy of operations of the Civil Service as a whole; the Commission to make available to the Government and to individual departments, on request, its management consultant service; a fair and uniform code of discipline established by the Commission to set common standards of service and conduct, with department heads and their subordinate officers responsible for applying them but with a "broadened base" for appeals; dismissal to be effected by the Commission on recommendation of the department head; and a revised appeals set-up to provide for appeals to be heard by the Commission or by appeals boards established by it.

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INSTITUTE NEWS

The Fifth Annual Meeting of the General Body of the *Institute* was held on April 25 at New Delhi. *Shri Jawaharlal Nehru* was unanimously re-elected President of the *Institute* for the year 1959-60. M/s S. Vaidyanath Aiyar & Co., Chartered Accountants, were reappointed Honorary Auditors of the *Institute* for the year 1959.

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The Executive Council, at its thirty-first meeting, held on April 26, re-elected *Shri G.B. Pant, Dr. G.S. Mahajani, Shri Shri Ram* and *Dr. H.N. Kunzru*, as Vice-Presidents of the *Institute* for a period of two years. It also elected *Shri K. Kamaraj*, Chief Minister of Madras, as Vice-President for a period of two years.

The Council further re-elected *Shri V.T. Krishnamachari* as its Chairman; reco-opted *Shri N.V. Gadgil* and *Shri L.P. Singh*, as members of the Council, for a period of one year; and co-opted *Shri M.V. Rangachari*, as a member. The Council reappointed *Shri L.P. Singh*, and appointed *Shri M.V. Rangachari*, as members of its Standing Committee.

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Under the I.I.P.A. Essay Competition, 1958, as recommended by a committee of three judges, the second prize of Rs. 500/- was jointly awarded to (1) *Dr. Amba Prasad*, Reader in History, Department of African Studies, University of Delhi; and (2) *Dr. Iqbal Narain*, Lecturer in Political Science, Rajasthan College, Jaipur.

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A preliminary Conference of the representatives of State Governments and the Planning Commission was held at the *Institute*, on April 5, to work out details regarding the nature and duration of the proposed Short-term Course in Planning. It suggested that the first Course of three to four weeks' duration should be organised in August next.

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Dr. Norman Wengert, Professor of Government, University of Maryland, U.S.A., delivered a course of three lectures on 'The Administration of Natural Resources' from April 29 to May 1. Another series of three lectures on 'The American Public Service' were given by *Prof. Phillips Bradley*, Head, Department of American History and Institutions, Indian School of International Studies, from May 4 to 6. Other lectures delivered included : 'The U.N. and Training for Public Administration' by *Mr. F.J. Tickner*, C.B.E., Deputy Director, Office of Public Administration, United Nations, on April 8, and 'Administration—Then and Now' by *Dr. John Matthai*, on April 9.

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The *Institute's* School of Public Administration closed for the summer vacation on May 9; it will re-open on July 13. The second session of the course for the Master's Diploma in Public Administration at the School will commence on July 13.

DIGEST OF REPORTS

ESTIMATES COMMITTEE, 1958-59, 38th Report—Ministry of Transport and Communications (Department of Transport)—Eastern Shipping Corporation Ltd. and Western Shipping Corporation (P) Ltd., New Delhi, Lok Sabha Secretariat, April 1959, vii, 117p., Rs. 1.50.

The important observations and recommendations of the Committee are given below :

(A) Organizational Matters

1. It took three years to set up the first Corporation and nine years to set up the second; and the proposal to set up the third Corporation has, for the present, been shelved. The delay in setting up the Shipping Corporations has been a major factor in retarding the development of shipping in the public sector.

2. The Committee is not quite convinced of the desirability of having two separate Corporations for operating the small fleet that they own at present. The feasibility of amalgamating the two Corporations may, therefore, be considered.

3. (*i*) It is not necessary to restrict the choice for manning the Boards to the same category of business as they are required to administer. (*ii*) The decision of Government not to appoint non-officials on the Boards of Directors on the ground of their having no stake in the business is not convincing. For that matter, the officials appointed on the Boards also do not have any stake in the concerns which they are required to administer. What is required is to secure the best talent and experience for the management of public enterprises in the interest of the nation as a whole.

4. While officials would definitely be of use to Government undertakings, the present practice of making appointment of officers, who are also entrusted with other departmental duties and are fully occupied with them, with a view to giving representation to Ministries or Departments concerned, is not sound. The question may be reviewed in a comprehensive manner and a suitable pattern of organisation devised for the management of Government commercial undertakings.

5. Considering that the proposals and problems, coming up from the Corporations, for consideration of Government, should be examined objectively by persons who are not directly connected therewith, the Director-General of Shipping should be dissociated from the Chairmanship and Directorship of the Corporations.

6. There are many misconceptions with regard to the nature of responsibility attaching to Government in relation to the public undertakings and the nature and extent of checks and controls that have to and can be exercised over them by Government. The whole question may be reviewed comprehensively and a sound and well-defined relationship established between the companies and the Government.

7. The question of the proper location of the headquarters of the Eastern Shipping Corporation might be reviewed with particular reference to the future pattern of its operations. The economics of having branch offices *vis-a-vis* the agencies

at various ports may be worked out from time to time, keeping in view the trend of trade earnings and expenses; and if there are prospects of securing a larger amount of business, the desirability of setting up branch offices in those places may be considered.

(B) *Personnel*

1. The Committee is not happy that in a commercial public undertaking there should be an elaborate hierarchical system of organization. The organizational set-up of the Eastern Shipping Corporation might be reviewed and reorientated on a scientific and rational basis. The strength of staff aboard the various vessels may also be reviewed and where possible uniformity introduced; and unnecessary staff, if any, be eliminated.

2. There is no adequate justification for the existence of the Commercial Adviser's Secretariat in the Eastern Shipping Corporation. The necessity of maintaining the Secretariat may be reviewed. There is also no adequate justification for the existence of the post of an Operations Manager to co-ordinate between the Marine Superintendent and the Engineering Superintendent; the desirability of abolishing this post might be considered.

3. (*i*) There exist diverse conditions of service personnel recruited from various sources, in the Eastern Shipping Corporation. Such a state of affairs is not conducive to harmony amongst the staff members. The inordinate delay that has occurred on the part of the Corporation in framing its own conditions of service for its employees is deplorable; these should be finalized expeditiousy, regard being had to the introduction of uniformity amongst all sections of staff. (*ii*) The scales of pay sanctioned for various posts in the Corporation may be reviewed and rationalized in the light of the duties and responsibilities attaching thereto.

4. There is no valid justification for officers discharging similar duties in different public undertakings being governed by different scales of pay. The Government might review the scales of pay, obtaining in all its undertakings and revise them with the object of introducing uniformity where possible.

5. With the implementation of the recommendation contained in the Thirty-Ninth Report (First Lok Sabha) of the Estimates Committee regarding the creation of a separate Public Service Commission for all the undertakings in the public sector, the allegations about undue influence being brought to be borne on the selection of officers etc. could be avoided; meanwhile the constitution of the Industrial Management Pool which is intended to provide the senior executive personnel for all the State undertakings is welcomed. The Pool may be enlarged, if considered necessary, in order that as many supervisory personnel as may be required by the public undertakings are drawn therefrom.

6. A suggestion was made to the Committee that in order to tone up the administration of pubic undertakings an annual declaration of the relatives of Ministers, Directors, Members of Parliament, Members of Planning Commission, or officers of Government who are employed in such Corporations and who may be drawing a remuneration exceeding Rs. 500 a month, may be given in the annual report of the respective undertakings. In the Indian Companies Act also there is a provision for getting the prior sanction of the Company in case of appointment of a relative of a Director. The Committee considers that there should be no objection to extending the

principle underlying the provision of the Indian Companies Act for getting the prior sanction of the authorities in cases of appointment of relatives of a Director to other cases mentioned above; prior to the appointment of such a person the matter should be brought to the notice of the Ministry concerned and its consent obtained. Appointments of such persons should also be mentioned in the Annual Report of the Corporation for the year.

(C) Finance and Accounts

1. In view of the fact that many of the State undertakings are not yielding profits and might not also be in a position to yield profits due to some of them assuming a social service character, there should be a separate organisation to evaluate the working of such undertakings independently of profit consideration. The organisation to be set up in respect of such undertakings should not be of an *ad hoc* nature but should be able to undertake examination of each undertaking periodically.

2. The Eastern Shipping Corporation may work out the most efficient rate of turnover by comparison with the rates of turnover of other companies in India and abroad, determine the defect, if any, in its investment or organisation and take suitable steps to rectify it. A shipping expert might be appointed to examine the working of the Corporation and to advise on the changes required to improve its results.

3. The Eastern Shipping Corporation should introduce the system of review of operational costs and be constantly on the lookout for effecting economies in expenditure. It might also consider the desirability of setting up a Cost Accounting Unit to work out the estimates and cost of each voyage, to evolve a practicable operational coefficient to judge

the working of each vessel, and to indicate the points where economies or other improvements would be possible.

(D) Other Matters

1. The policy of Government in relation to the Shipping Corporations is expressed in negative terms and lacks a positive approach; it should be redefined in a positive manner.

2. With the economic development of the country and consequent expansion of commerce and trade, the requirements of shipping have gone up since 1947. The requirements of shipping may be reviewed in the light of the present trends and the objectives of the Shipping policy re-stated on a realistic basis. It is hoped that the planners of the Third Five Year Plan will, considering the importance of shipping for the national economy and its present inadequacy, give development of shipping higher priority than hitherto and greater allocation of resources in order that the objectives of the Shipping Policy might be attained within a reasonable time.

3. The Government might consider the possibility of making some readjustment in the allocation of funds under the Second Plan and allot additional funds for acquisition of ships.

4. (*i*) Although the State Trading Corporation and the Eastern Shipping Corporation are both Government undertakings, there is no co-ordination between the two Corporations, with the result that while negotiating the agreement with Japan the State Trading Corporation overlooked the interests of the Eastern Shipping Corporation. In future, effective steps should be taken to ensure better co-ordination amongst the various State undertakings. (*ii*) The machinery of the Shipping

Co-ordination Committee might be made a more effective instrument for securing co-ordination among different shipping interests.

REPORT ON INDIA'S FOOD CRISIS AND STEPS TO MEET IT; *By The Agricultural Production Team* (*sponsored by the Ford Foundation*), New Delhi, Government of India (Ministry of Food and Agriculture), April 1959, 254p., 0.75nP.

A Team of American agricultural specialists, headed by Dr. Sherman E. Johnson, Chief Economist, Agricultural Research Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, visited India early this year, at the request of the Union Ministries of Food and Agriculture and Community Development and Co-operation and under the sponsorship of the Ford Foundation, to look into the problem of agricultural production. Its main findings and recommendations, which may be of interest to the readers of this *Journal*, are as follows :

I. THE DIMENSIONS OF THE FOOD PROBLEM

1. A Third Plan target of 110 million tons of food grains by 1965-66 is reasonable, in view of India's rapidly rising population. Eighty million more people, or a total population of about 480 millions, are expected by the end of the Third Plan. If India's food production increases no faster than present rates, the gap between supplies and target will be 28 million tons by 1965-66. This will be about 25 per cent shortfall in terms of need. No conceivable programme of imports or rationing can meet a crisis of this magnitude. A 110-million-ton target, however, can be realized only if an all-out emergency food production programme is undertaken. Food production must be given the highest priority. The unemployed and underemployed in the villages represent a waste of resources that should be used to produce more food. Moreover, about 45 million of the 80 million increase in population will be rural people. The Team recommends that a public works programme be instituted for projects requiring primarily hand labour, such as contour bunding, land levelling, surface drainage, irrigation wells and tanks. Such work will contribute directly to increasing food production, provide income for needy people, and will not be inflationary.

2. Good planning is meaningless without adequate execution of the plans that are made. "Business as usual" will not achieve the food production targets. The steps necessary to mobilize the nation for action must be clearly outlined.

II. ORGANIZING TO MEET THE FOOD CRISIS

1. Extraordinary organizational and administrative measures and actions are required to mobilize the nation to meet the challenge of producing food enough to meet minimum requirements of a rapidly growing population.

2. (*i*) The crisis in food requires action at the highest levels of Government. But there must be follow-through at all levels. Legislative as well as administrative branches of Government must be aware of the urgency of the situation. Decisions which are binding on all Ministries of Government and on all levels of Government, and which are supported by political leaders, must be made. (*ii*) Power must be granted to set priorities among activities, to

reallocate and reassign personnel, to redefine programme content and emphasis, and to require co-ordination and collaboration among Government agencies to simplify administrative, fiscal and other procedures as necessary to win the battle of food production. (*iii*) There are undoubtedly several ways in which these administrative problems might be handled. One might be to increase the responsibility and authority of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture and to hold this Ministry solely accountable for meeting the crisis. Another might be to revitalize and broaden the powers and functions of existing cabinet committees dealing with this subject. Mere paper organization will not do the job. Advisory committees, consultative and co-ordinative bodies, or discussion groups are not enough. Far-reaching, centralized authority with a clear line of command and execution, alone can meet the challenge of growing more food.

3. The urgency of the problem and the need for clear-cut organizational adjustments to meet it must be understood at the State level. Appropriate changes, redirecting efforts at district, block, and village level, must also occur. At the district level, for example, an officer with the status of the collector, having a knowledge of agriculture and fully cognizant of the seriousness of the food crisis, should be given responsibility and authority to direct and implement policies and programmes for increasing food production. He should have full authority, supported by decisions at the State level, to reshape block programmes as needed to attain the best use of block resources in meeting food production goals.

4. At each level, agencies and officers should be given well-defined, manageable and inescapable responsibility with full authority to discharge that responsibility. They should be judged by their initiative, their ability to push through the programme, and by their concrete accomplishments in increasing food production.

5. The specific assurances required by the cultivator as incentives for increased production are: (1) A guaranteed minimum price publicized in advance of the planting season; (2) A market that is ready to accept his crops at the floor price at the time he wants to sell; (3) Availability of this market within bullock-cart hauling distance; and (4) Suitable local storage for the portion of the crops which he does not wish to sell at harvest time.

6. The major need for price stabilization is a systematic and continuous effort to maintain food grain prices at the desired level. This can be accomplished only by a permanent agency which can formulate price policy and implement this policy with the required action.

III. IMPROVING EXTENSION WORK THROUGH COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

(*a*) *Extension Programmes*

1. Extension programmes in India can have a much greater impact upon food production and this is necessary for the nation's survival. Extension programmes can be improved by focussing them more directly upon local conditions, upon village production problems and production potentials, and by having village farmers participate more actively in programme determinations, including setting the priority order of programme action. This process in itself leads to mental growth and development of leadership in village people.

2. Block extension workers should set up village food production

committees through which the local farm people, assisted by block extension personnel and V.L.W.s, first, can assess the present production and optimum productive capacities of village farms, and, second, determine the combinations of improved farming methods necessary to achieve expanded production. Where the village has a panchayat, the food committee could act as a sub-committee of the panchayat.

3. Extension programmes in India have not given sufficient concern to the factors of human motivation. Food production objectives and programmes to achieve them must be related to the group that ultimately increases food production, the cultivators themselves. Unless the behaviour of this group can be changed, unless they can effectively be motivated to take steps which will increase production on their fields, no extension educational programme can succeed. Special extension programme emphasis should be given to the important contribution that farm women and youth can make in village community efforts to step up food production.

4. Many new practices are being recommended for adoption. However, the relatively high number of cultivators who revert from new practices back to the old traditional ways is an indication that some of the basic criteria of the learning-acting process are being violated. Caution should be exercised in making recommendations for any improved practice uniformly over large areas without adequate regard for their appropriateness for local farming conditions. Targets composed of improved practice quotas handed down to the blocks and villages from national and State levels should be abandoned. The use of targets should be confined to national and State requirements for key food crops and be used by the village cultivators as guides in setting their own food production goals, in consultation with local extension workers.

(b) *Extension Organization and Administration*

1. The community development organization from the Centre to the blocks should focus its extension programme more fully on increased food production. The emergency nature of the present food situation requires much more than issuing directives that the V.L.W.s should spend 75 to 80 per cent of their time on agricultural production. The top priority programme objective of community development in the foreseeable future must be to marshal the educational force and drive that will stimulate village cultivators to produce more food.

2. Improvement programmes should be tailored to fit the conditions faced by individual cultivators, village by village, block by block and area by area. It is obviously impossible for agricultural workers to give individual assistance to all the cultivators in India, but a uniform, blanket approach should be avoided. A nation-wide improvement programme should be developed which will concentrate on the combination of practices that are most likely to increase food production quickly in the different areas.

3. The basic idea of a block "team" of a group of officers having special areas of responsibility and functioning under the leadership of the Block Development Officer (B.D.O.) is sound. But the multipurpose nature and function of the block makes for both strength and weakness. Strength is found in the integrated approach to progress at the block and village levels. Weakness is found in attempting to be all things to the village people, and in possible deficiencies in staff relationships

and organization. Perhaps the most disturbing weakness at present is the extent to which rigid and distinct status barriers between the V.L.W.s and block staff members and between the B.D.O. and members of his staff tend to prevent effective communication and to negate the far-reaching idea of the team approach.

4. Additional block agricultural personnel with specialized technical competence to handle local farming problems, such as irrigation, soil conservation, farm management and home science, are needed; and more intensive technical and extension methods training must be given to all present block staffs as rapidly as possible. Adjustments in block budgets are also called for. Training programmes for additional specialized agricultural officers must be stepped up to permit more adequate staffing as rapidly as possible. As competent personnel become available for such staffing, they should first be assigned to those areas and blocks where the combination of water, soil, and other resources indicate that food production increases will be greatest.

5. Immediate steps must be taken at the Centre, State and District levels to strengthen extension work. Unless the block staff are adequately supported by a core of agricultural subject-matter specialists up the line—specialists who are continuously in touch with current research developments—the local staffs cannot be expected to carry on successful extension programmes to increase crop yields by modern farming methods.

6. At the Centre, some of the nation's most competent agricultural technicians and scientists—in such fields as rice and other cereal crop production, irrigation, plant protection, soil fertility, animal husbandry,

farm management and agricultural economics—must be recruited to give broad, general leadership to State extension specialists. The men selected must be capable of commanding the complete respect of their opposite numbers in research. At State and District levels men of similar qualifications are needed to give leadership and direction to the men in blocks and villages.

7. The approximately 2,000 "shadow" blocks (that is, the blocks not yet under the community development programme) should receive at least a minimum of extension educational assistance.

8. The concept of the block staff is that of specialists under the general guidance of the B.D.O. but receiving technical information from departmental district officers. The staff's principal function is described as providing assistance to the multi-purpose V.L.W. The perception, which the block officers have of their own role, suggests that thay are more "action-oriented" than educationally minded. The block staff on the whole is an aggregation of workers in separate areas of work rather than a team focussing on problems.

The following changes in assignments of officers at the block level should be made :

(1) Village Level Workers : Relieve the Gram Sevak of service tasks, such as handling farm supplies, loan collections, etc., as rapidly as these jobs can be assigned to other persons. Direct more of the activities of the Gram Sevikas to teaching improved agricultural practices to farm women.

(2) Agricultural Officer : Relieve him of service responsibilities such as seed, fertilizer, and insecticide handling, assigning

this to co-operatives and to the Co-operative Officer.

(3) Animal Husbandry Officer : Reorient his work toward food production, for example, giving greater emphasis to poultry production, where applicable, and greater emphasis to forage utilization and controlled grazing.

(4) Social Education Officer (Man) : Assign him as a staff officer to assist the B.D.O. and other block officers in organizing facilities and in preparing visual materials and other teaching aids with particular reference to agricultural production, and to assist the V.L.W. in organization, method demonstrations, etc.

(5) Co-operative Officer : Encourage him to take greater responsibility for developing an understanding of the purpose, objectives and opportunities of co-operatives and aiding in their organization. Make him responsible for the supply functions such as seed and fertilizer currently usually handled by the agricultural officer.

(6) Other Officers : The work of the engineer, panchayat officer, and woman social education organizer should be redirected, to the extent possible, to educational activities and development programmes contributing directly to greater food production.

9. State Departments of agriculture should provide adequate agricultural information services to help extend information on improved practices through mass communication media, such as radio, newspapers, and pamphlets, and by visual teaching devices—movies, filmstrips, posters, and so on. Information services can support the work of local extension personnel by making farmers more aware of better farming methods, and by providing the local workers visual and other teaching aids.

10. Conditions contributing to rapid personnel turnover, such as low salaries, job insecurity and limited opportunities for advancement, should be remedied. This is particularly a matter of concern with respect to V.L.W.s, but would also improve the quality of work done by extension personnel up the line. A part of these personnel problems can be solved by staff supervision oriented to worker counsel and guidance and to general personnel development rather than to inspection, order-giving and control. Administrative steps must also be taken to correct the more crucial problems of job insecurity and low morale resulting from insufficient opportunities for advancement.

11. With respect to block budgets and accounting and auditing procedures, greater budget flexibility from block to block is needed. Budgets should reflect priorities set by the local people and the block staff. Accounting and credit inspectors need a better understanding of extension programme objectives. Rigidities and complex paper controls place the local extension workers in "strait jackets" and consume time that should be devoted to the business of aiding farmers to produce more food.

12. The reports required of extension workers should be simplified, and consist of periodic descriptive statements of extension programme achievements, with expanding food production as the central theme. The present detailed reports of V.L.W.s and block extension officers appear to give more

emphasis to mechanical paper control than to assessing programme results.

13. To mobilize the manpower of State-level personnel concerned with food production programmes fully, each State should convene a working conference of community development and appropriate technical department officers and specialists for the purpose of : (*a*) assessing and outlining the jobs to be done to aid local extension workers and village cultivators to produce more food, and (*b*) fixing the specific responsibilities of each department for carrying out the plans. Each such State conference should be followed by a series of District conferences in which all appropriate District personnel, official and non-official, would meet to appraise the food production potential of their respective Districts and determine and assign responsibilities for jobs to be done to support block staff extension programmes with technicians, teaching equipment, materials and demonstration supplies.

(*c*) *Extension Methods*

1. India's extension education programme can be much more effective if agricultural extension workers at all levels develop more of the skills for conducting an effective educational programme. To achieve this, they must have a better understanding of human relations generally and of : (*a*) the social-psychological make-up of the cultivator, (*b*) the mental processes of the cultivator in learning and acting, and (*c*) the cultivator in his social setting in the village.

2. Competent instructors in extension education should be secured or trained for the extension training centres, and a more comprehensive and practical work-training syllabus, including content and methods of teaching, should be developed.

3. A critical analysis should be made in the field of extension methods now being used and of any others that may be valuable to determine how extension programmes in action may most effectively persuade the village farmers to adopt farming improvements.

IV. PROGRAMME RESEARCH AND EVALUATION

1. To strengthen research, particularly on food production problems, will require resources, and competent staff from many disciplines. The resources now available in the Programme Evaluation Organization and other research groups should be more sharply focussed on evaluating programmes that are directly related to food production.

2. (*i*) Staff of research organizations should include competent people from such fields as social-psychology, sociology, cultural anthropology, statistics, economics, political science and public administration. People competent in areas specifically involved in any programme being studied should be included in the research programme. (*ii*) Any members of the research programme, whatever their field, must have *research competence*. This assumes that, in addition to knowing their own field, they have some knowledge of statistics, and, equally important, an understanding of rigorous research methodology. For instance, there appears to be only limited use of experimental design in the research to date. (*iii*) Most studies make only limited use of controls. The setting up of theoretical frameworks, with more precise concept definitions, would make it possible to do more rigorous research. There is always the temptation to collect some data on many

things rather than to limit data collection mainly to those things that fit into a conceptual framework where interrelations can be controlled and tested. There could be more use of statistical techniques in the analysis. The generalizing of apparent differences without statistical tests, especially from small samples, is dangerous.

3. (*i*) Each State should explore the possibility of setting up a small programme research unit to work on problems and programmes of special importance to the individual States. (*ii*) There is need for precise statements of goals and procedures for the various programmes and sub-phases of programmes. (*iii*) The programme research and evaluation people should be brought into the planning process of action programmes at an early stage. (*iv*) There should be greater emphasis on the study of the attitudinal factors involved in programme planning and execution. (*v*) There should be increased efforts placed on "process" studies. Unless a rather intensive study is made of the actual on-going operation of the experimental programme and its efficiency, it is difficult to know just what to try to duplicate when the programme is applied to other areas. (*vi*) There should be more effective use made of the case study method. Many of the case studies made thus far appear to be more descriptive than analytical. The analytical side of this type of research will have to receive greater emphasis if the studies are to live up to their potential. (*vii*) Additional attention should be given to input-output relations. (*viii*) Research and action people should be aware of the problem of "feedback" in experimental research. In some cases it may be desirable to "feed" research data gathered in an ongoing programme to the action people as a basis for making decisions as the programme progresses. (*ix*) There should be a clear understanding of the role of "ideal" experiments. The term "ideal" is used in the sense of carrying out a project with all of the needed resources under the best possible conditions.

4. There is need for more research on administrative structure. There seems to be general agreement that the major problems in India lie not so much in basic idea or philosophy of the programmes but in implementation. Though some beginning studies have been made of the job of the V.L.W. and other officers, there has been little done that could be called an intensive analysis of the roles of any specific worker. Equally important is the study of the interrelation of roles and communication patterns at a given level, for example the block officers or district officers. Also of importance is the study of vertical relationships. Studying the flow of specific directives and action programmes through the structure should also be significant. Of special importance at this time would be a study of the relation of extension, teaching and research, and of the possibilities of integrating these three functions to make the greatest impact on food production.

BOOK REVIEWS

OF MATTERS ADMINISTRATIVE; By A.D. GORWALA, Bombay, Popular Book Depot, 1958, vi, 162p., Rs. 3.

This publication reproduces thirty-six essays by Shri A.D. Gorwala which have appeared in newspapers or journals between 1951-58.

The author is a seasoned administrator with a distinguished record of service. His recent report on the Mysore administration, which was undertaken at the instance of the Mysore Government, has attracted a good deal of public attention. On matters administrative he can claim to speak with authority. His views are entitled to be treated with respect.

In the presentation of his views, the author deliberately abandons the habit of moderation and understatement, which, after long years of service, should become second nature to the civil servant. Instead, he adopts the style and manner of the politician. Shri Gorwala feels, not without reason, that the civil servant is being wrongly criticized, is being given little credit for what he has done and can do, is not being made use of as he should be and, generally, is suffering from a sense of frustration. As service traditions prevent him from making any public statement in self-defence or self-justification, Shri Gorwala has taken up the cudgels on his behalf and he does so without inhibition.

It is hardly practicable, nor is it desirable, to enter into any detailed discussion of the views so forcefully expressed on matters controversial. It is necessary to preserve perspective and proportion. For this the political background and the fundamental change in the position of the civil servant needs to be borne in mind.

The political party in power, the Congress, under the guidance and inspiration of Mahatma Gandhi, has a mighty achievement to its credit, *viz.,* the gaining of independence. For the Indian people this is no less than what Winston Churchill did for the British in World War II. The Indian public are therefore grateful and tolerant, though, of course, too much reliance should not be placed on this as Winston Churchill discovered before the Second World War ended. Another important political fact is that the civil service from being part of a foreign-controlled bureaucracy at loggerheads with the Congress is now serving in a democracy under the Congress.

If the above political background is kept in mind, much of what is happening in regard to administration and the civil service is seen in clearer light. But this does not mean that what is happening is right. Shri Gorwala and his *bete noire*, the politician, who passes all the blame to the civil servant, are agreed that the guiding motive of sound administration should be the public interest. But what is the public interest in a democracy? On many important matters there is a divergence of opinion as to what constitutes the public interest. When opinions differ, who is to decide? As Professor Howard R. Smith of Georgia University in a recent publication* aptly puts it: "The public interest in a democracy

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* *Government and Business,* New York, Ronald Press Co.

is not wanted because it is the public interest, it is rather the public interest because it is wanted." Policies democratically accepted, *i.e.*, policies decided upon on the basis of some kind of a majority-rule device in accordance with the constitution, must be regarded as the public interest. The civil servant has to give effect to such a policy with strictest loyalty. But the civil servant is not worth his salt if he assumes the purely negative role of ascertaining a democratic decision and giving effect to it blindly. A democratic decision is neither infallible nor irrevocable. Further, in administration care has to be taken that, while the decision is obeyed, both in letter and spirit, the maximum public good and the minimum public harm ensue. The public needs, and expects, guidance, specially in a new democracy. In the long run a wrong policy, though democratically adopted, becomes self-defeating. The public is grateful for enlightenment and an adopted policy can be rectified by the same democratic process. It is the duty and the responsibility of a Minister to see that, through democratic process, wrong or harmful policies are not adopted. The civil service is the indispensable tool to help the Minister to discharge this responsibility.

Before independence the tool was the master, but now it is definitely the servant. The Cabinet can mould it as it wills, but it must do so with firm decision assuming full responsibility for what it does. If the existing civil services are found wanting, there is nothing to prevent the Cabinet resorting to *ad hoc* recruitment from outside to ensure successful fruition of its policies. A Minister who throws blame on the civil servants for his own failure is like the proverbial bad carpenter who always blames his tools. Shri Gorwala is on sound ground when he

argues that for the deterioration in administration, for proliferation and Parkinson's law in the Secretariat, for poor results after much publicity, for delays in arriving at decisions, and in replying to correspondence, the Minister in charge must accept full responsibility. If he wills and is firm in what he wills, he can stop the rot effectively and quickly. A sound administration needs firmness, not pinpricks.

In view of the great political change in the country, the civil servant should also realize that the method which yielded good results in pre-independence days cannot be continued without careful discrimination. If the public were to dislike a particular policy or a particular procedure, it would be neither wise nor right to carry on as if the public did not count. The silent strong civilian who carried out what he conceived to be his duty with "enlightened ruthlessness" is likely to prove a failure in the India of today unless he can make the necessary adjustments to carry the public with him. Nostalgic references to what the civil service was able to achieve in "the good old days" serve no useful purpose. This is a defect of outlook from which the author seems to suffer, though on many points his views are sound. He fails to appreciate that the role of the civil servant has changed substantially. For instance the "sartorial circular", which comes in for pungent criticism is, not so ridiculous as the author tries to make out. If the Cabinet felt that the foreign style of dress adopted by the civil servant under British rule is to the public a symbol of bureaucratic aloofness, it was within its rights to suggest a change which it considered appropriate. "The buttoned-up short coat reminiscent of the Indian princes and Stalin" involved the minimum break from the past. It is no

more ridiculous than the short coat or the black tail-coat and white tie which the Indian civilian adopted under the previous regime. Where there is already much legitimate criticism, it is a pity that a mountain is made of this molehill.

The attack which some politicians are so fond of making on the civil servant and Shri Gorwala's reaction to such attacks are the thesis and anti-thesis representing the extreme swing of the pendulum in opposite directions. What is required is a synthesis for sincere collaboration between the Minister and the civil servant without which sound administration is impossible.

—*S. Lall*

LEADERSHIP IN ADMINISTRATION—A Sociological Interpretation; By PHILIP SELZNICK, Illinois and New York, Row, Peterson & Co., 1957, xii, 162p., $4.00.

The book follows the current trends in organisational theory which emphasise the data and concepts of psychology and sociology, taking into account the 'non-rational', personal and group factors, including the emotional and the sub-conscious.

Administrative organisation is distinguished from an 'institution'. The outstanding features of the former are stated to be its formal system of rules and objectives wherein, tasks, powers and procedures are set out according to some officially approved pattern. It is an exercise in engineering and is governed by related ideals of rationality and discipline. This, according to the author, never completely explains the behaviour of the participating staff whose personality, problems and interests create the 'informal' structure. The 'institution' is described as "more nearly a natural product of social ends and pressures—responsive, adoptive organisation."

The organisation becomes an 'institution' when the participants become attached to it "as persons rather than technicians", *i.e.*, when organisation has changed from "an expendable tool into a valuable source of personal satisfaction". "This involves the taking on of values, ways of acting and believing that are deemed important for their own sake. From then on, besides self-maintenance, there is a struggle to preserve the uniqueness of the group in the face of new problems and altered circumstances."

In large organisations, this process of 'institutionalisation' assumes an important significance. They must, therefore, be considered in the same manner as natural communities which they greatly resemble in their historical growth and pattern of behaviour. Such organisations draw added meaning from the psychological and social functions they perform. According to the author, in large scale organisations, the administration consists not only of 'formal' efficient management, but also of exercise of executive statesmanship, the basic characteristic of 'institutional leadership', whose main function is "the task of promoting, developing and practising special values and building a distinctive competence into the organisation." The 'formal' organisation concerns itself with, what the author describes, as 'routine' decisions, pertaining to the solution of day-to-day problems of organisation and efficiency, while leadership must make 'critical' decisions which are

defined by him as those that affect institutional key values. Such decisions relate to policy and vitally affect the development of the institution. There will, however, be certain aspects of 'administration' as distinguished from 'policy' which influence the building of key values of the institution. The author refers to some of these, such as the recruitment and training of personnel, the formation and co-ordination of internal groups etc. They must receive the attention of the true institutional leader whose duty is "to choose key values and to create a social structure that embodies them."

Prof. Selznick then proceeds to elaborate this theory of institutional leadership, its true nature, task and quality on the basis of this sociological and psychological approach. In the light of this examination of growth and development of institutions, the author assigns to an institutional leader the following three-fold tasks :—(*i*) the definition of institutional mission and role; (*ii*) he institutional embodiment of purpose, and (*iii*) the defence of institutional integrity. In regard to the first task, the leader "must specify and recast the general aims of his organisation so as to adapt them, without serious corruption, to the requirements of institutional survival." Prof. Selznick, however, recognises the difficulties in laying down the aims and mission of an organisation at the start and the danger in the institution becoming unduly rigid if this is prematurely attempted. In this connection, he emphasises that the true commitments of an organisation are not unchanging and they must be reassessed continuously.

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While discussing the second task of an institutional leader, the author refers briefly to the historical growth of an "institutional" organisation and the typical developmental problems which need critical policy decisions. Some of the important problems may be briefly referred here.

The selection of the social base : Questions such as the choice of clientele or market to be served by the organisation would determine personnel recruitment, personnel training, public relations and other allied matters. While this factor may play a significant part in private commercial concerns, it may be doubted whether much importance attaches to it in the case of ordinary Government departments, particularly in India, where the Government has accepted the goal of socialistic pattern of society. However, in the case of specialised organisations, especially those dealing with social uplift and rural developmental activities, the class of society from which the personnel is recruited and the type of bias given to it, would influence the success of the mission.

Building the institutional core : In this connection, stress is placed on the need for creating an initial homogeneous staff which will ultimately give a direction and stability to the organisation.

Formalisation of structure and procedure : This is a necessary process in the development of an organisation. It is 'a stage with which administrators are familiar. In this context, the author refers to the place of decentralisation of powers and functions in the historical growth of an organisation and emphasises the need for achievement of "social homogeneity" before decentralisation is effected. Decentralisation thus "requires a preparatory period of training in which leadership has the opportunity to influence deeply the ideas that guide decision-making

at lower levels". This influence may take the form of "indoctrination", or the object may, preferably, be achieved by "collaborative development of plans and policies." It, therefore, follows that, initially, there must be a considerable degree of centralisation when cohesion is built up before decentralisation of functions is effected.

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While discussing the historical development of organisations, the author indicates a problem, namely, "to discover the characteristic ways in which types of institutions respond to types of circumstances" which is worth detailed research and study by students of public administration. An interesting aspect of administration, which Prof. Selznick has emphasised, is the "creation and protection of elites." 'Elites' are, according to the author, essential for the stability of an organisation and should be given sufficient 'autonomy' to enable them to preserve and develop the values and integrity of the organisation. The problem of forming, training and maintaining 'elites' is, therefore, an essential task of leadership, particularly in organisations which are charged with maintenance and propagation of "precarious" values. In this connection, Prof. Selznick throws useful light on the manner in which this aspect of administration is affected by the nature of supervision and control—centralised control or 'dual supervision'—and the relationship between the headquarters and field organisations in respect of specialist activities.

The role of an institutional leader is elaborated in the context of the historical growth and behaviour of large-scale organisations and their problems. It is the role of a statesman who deals with problems with political sagacity, effecting compro-

mises, where necessary, without sacrificing the essential value of the organisation. Such a leader defines the mission of the organisation and gives it the appropriate shape in order to fulfil its purpose. The approach of the author towards the problems of administration and administrative organisations is thus largely social and psychological. His treatment of the theme specifically excludes the familiar question of the leader's personal traits or capacities required, upon which, according to Simon, Smithburg and Thompson, in their book "Public Administration", depends the degree of his influence within and outside the organisation. Nor does he deal with the details of the manner in which a leader functions; the relationship between him and his subordinates and other allied questions which are discussed at length in various books on public administration and management, such as in "Organisation and Management" by Seckler-Hudson, "Notes on the Government Executive; His Role and His Methods" etc.

In fact, throughout his book the main theme of Prof. Selznick is that at higher levels in large organisations, the logic of efficiency fails and a new logic emerges—the logic of institutionalisation. "As this occurs, *organisation management* becomes *institutional leadership*." Such leadership transcends the logic of efficiency and goes beyond 'engineered technical arrangement of building blocks.' This approach, however, seems to take a somewhat narrow view of the organisation techniques and methods. Once the purpose and mission of an organisation is defined and certain 'critical decisions' taken, the structure of the organisation can take account of these factors. An assumption that an efficiency or organisation expert necessarily views the matters from limited and preconceived

'building-blocks' standpoint and is incapable of a broader approach would be hardly justified. No doubt the author admits that "where organisation is in good shape from engineering standpoint, it is easier to put ideals into practice", but on the whole throughout the book he appears to overstress the importance of the social structure as against considerations of efficiency and organisation. Even if we accept the thesis of Prof. Selznick that "the study of institutions is in some ways comparable to the clinical study of personality" it would be unwise for a psychologist or sociologist to ignore the physical body of the patient or the structure of the organisation. In fact, according to the author a statesman-administrator may be called upon to make about two or three significant decisions a year; for the rest he must, no doubt, concentrate on the day-to-day activities and the smooth functioning of the organisation.

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The theory of leadership propounded in the book is, probably, more fitted to large-scale business and industrial organisations, as also to organisations imbued with social or political aims. Therefore, the purposes and objectives are susceptible of clearer definition and organisations can be moulded accordingly. Leadership in such cases has a more positive and purposeful role to perform, particularly in the initial stages, or in the times of crises. In the case of Governmental organisations, particularly in India, it would, however, be difficult to state in precise and specific terms the mission and the purpose of the organisation and the administration has perforce to be more impersonal. This is not to say that the quality of statesmanship is not necessary in

such cases; but, in addition, the leader has to be a seasoned administrator, looking not only to the needs of the organisation as an institution, but also to its efficiency. It is fortunate, too, that in the pattern of democracy obtaining in India, the external pressure groups do not exercise the same type of influence as they probably do in America and the problem of maintenance and protection of institutional integrity does not assume the same importance.

In making these observations there is no intention to minimise the value of Prof. Selznick's contribution in presenting his thesis. It is obvious that he has thought deeply on the various facets of public administration, especially from sociological point of view. The book bears the stamp of originality and is illustrated with instructive examples of the functioning of the armed services, T.V.A., large industrial organisations and political parties in America. The author, rightly, disclaims any pretentions to offer solutions to immediate problems of leadership in administration. His main task, as he puts it is : "to explore the meanings of institutional leadership, in the hope of contributing to our understanding of large-scale organisations." He wishes to provide "guides to the diagnosis of administrative troubles and to suggest that the posture of statesmanship may well be appropriate for many executives who have a narrower view and more limited aspirations." He seems to have discharged his selected task well. The book makes, at places, a somewhat heavy reading, being loaded with technical phraseology, but senior executives and serious students of public administration would read it with interest and with profit.

—*K. P. Mathrani*

THE CITY; By MAX WEBER, tr. and ed. by DON MARTIN-
DALE AND GERTRUD NEUWIRTH, Illinois, The Free Press, Glencoe,
1958, 242p., $4.00.

The progress of civilisation during the last few centuries has given a peculiar impetus to urbanisation and the city has come to occupy a special place in human affairs. No wonder, therefore, that more and more attention is being paid to it by sociologists and planners. Yet, even though human beings have been familiar with the man-made organism; it is not possible to define it precisely. Weber has attempted to study and explore the history of the city with a view to arriving at acceptable conclusions as to its genesis and *raison d'etre.* He takes us through centuries of history and almost the entire world to present an accurate and coherent picture of the city during its evolution through the ages and one cannot but marvel at his scholarship.

The city, though an ancient institution, is not as old as man is and therein lies the answer to its future. It grew round religious institutions of importance or market-places. Its origin was thus basically functional and Weber's illustrations make this abundantly clear. Human beings in their onward march built cities (and often also deserted them as they did not subserve their needs or failed to perform the functions expected of them), the ever-changing range of human activities and methods of living continually affected the nature of the city and gave new dimensions to it. Its character, however, did not change radically as much as the human being did not change in spite of rapid environmental changes.

Weber has been at pains, as it were, to develop a theory of the city (presumably as contradistinguished from any other settlement) and has tried to analyse its essential attributes, at least in so far as the genesis

goes. According to him an essential component was the presence of a city fortification and a city army. Among other qualities, it should have a market, a court and a certain degree of autonomy. As a historical assessment, his definition stands the test very well as these denominators were common to all cities of ancient times. Modern civilisation and technological advancement has, however, given a new shape to the city and already they are growing around industrial nuclei. It is more than evident, therefore, that basically the city arises out of a search for what may be called environmental convenience among a group of human beings and so long as inequalities of convenience between different places last, cities will arise and exist. A city which is functionally complete is the perfect city. As far as one can see a perfect city must remain only a dream.

However, Weber's researches are an important contribution to the study of the city as an urban organisation and he has gone to the far corners of the world to evaluate it. The evolution of the human being through various stages of social, political and economic development has been studied in great detail and a mass of information has been collected. The changes that have taken place from time to time in the characteristics of the city have been recorded with care and objectivity. But Weber's objective in going through all this labour was obviously not merely to present all available historical data. His theme is the establishment of the theory that the development of the city in Europe was a definite step forward in social progress and he maintains that political stability, Christianity and

industrial progress in their turn gave a unique value and position to the city. Not only that : such were the compulsions of these forces that the earlier cloistered family-settlements had to go. As cause and effect the thesis is acceptable. In fact, variants exist outside Europe. Cities in ancient India which grew as centres of trade, government, pilgrimage or education are well known. There is thus nothing very stirring about Weber's theory. After all, the initial settlement was like a nest—a breeding place, as it were; primitive and elementary activities took place here. With the growth of skill and needs, the field of activity had to increase and different groups found it necessary to converge at convenient points for the satisfaction of those needs. These points grew into cities in due course and naturally began to provide a standard of life at once more variegated and comfortable than in the first settlements. That, in all probability, was the real origin of the city and the market city, the religious centre, the seat of Government, the University town came in the order of the need of the community. A fortification, an army, a degree of autonomy and a set of local laws were mere instruments in keeping the heterogeneous population together. The law of the family group was no longer applicable to this motley congregation. Common pursuits and fraternalisation made a community of this collection of people. The rest of the growth is easily comprehensible and the rapid strides that the city made towards becoming what it is today are all too well-known. It is difficult to accept that the city was the deliberate creation of man in an attempt towards self-expression or that it was a planned synthesis of known or foreseen values. It emerged slowly out of new needs and methods of living adopted for the fulfilment of those needs. That, in many cases, the city did flower into a live and pleasant organism cannot be denied and its contribution towards the emancipation of man was, indeed, very rich.

What the future holds is not known—technological progress is adding to the size and complexity of the city and yet who knows that this very factor may one day lead to the disintegration of the city. But that transformation would rather be a subject for poets today than for historians and sociologists.

—*G. Mukharji*

WORK SIMPLIFICATION; By ROBERT N. LEHRER, New Jersey, Prentice Hall Inc., 1957, 394p., $9.25.

The old concept that work simplification is applicable only to industrial and business organizations is no more valid, and it has found a useful place in governmental agencies. Work simplification is a commonsense, systematic method of identifying and analyzing work problems, developing solutions, and installing improvements. Its main objectives are simplification of procedures, cutting red-tape, better distribution and scheduling of work, and elimination of unnecessary reports and forms. It embraces within its scope the simplification of both procedures and methods; and aims at the more effective use of manpower, equipment, materials and space.

During recent years a lot of literature has grown up on and around the subject of work simplification under varied titles like Motion and Time Study, Operation Analysis, Office Management, Procedural Analysis, Process Charting, Layout Planning Techniques, and Work Measurement

Apart from books, pamphlets, brochures and specialized papers, a liberal use has been made of films to illustrate and publicize work simplification methods. Much of this literature, however, deals with the techniques of work simplification, namely, work distribution, work count, flow process, motion economy and space layout.

Dissatisfied with the "common method of handling cost reduction, human relations and motion and time problems", the author departs from the pedestrian treatment of charting techniques and emphasizes "the dynamic and human aspects of a constructive approach." The book thus, is by no means an essay in explaining in detail the many techniques of work simplification. Even such conventional tools of work simplification as micromotion study and procedure analysis have not been included in this book, nothing to say of newer analysis tools like input and output analysis. The scope and purpose of the book are aptly indicated in the Foreword by M.E. Mundel reputed for his farm work simplification : "Dr. Lehrer has undertaken the much-needed task of reducing to a broad level of intelligibility the procedures designed to make human work more effective... Dr. Lehrer has attempted to explain the complexities of motion study in respect to everyday aspects of production work."

The two main concepts underlying the book are 'Creative Thinking' and 'Participational Work Simplification'. Creative Thinking implies giving a new and fresh look at work problems and suggesting new and better solutions both by the management and the workers. 'Participational Work Simplification' means participation of the workers in the improvement of their own jobs.

Here is something new for our work simplification programmes. The need for generating ideas is perhaps nowhere greater than in our government offices. There is very little "creative thinking" on the part of public servants in India. Most of them are either afraid of taking initiative and sticking their necks out or do not like to appear ridiculous with new ideas. There is almost a premium on routine and mediocrity. The Central O & M Division, which is charged with initiating new methods and procedures of work, has so far taken only one step in this direction, namely, monthly meetings of the Directors of O & M in different government agencies under the chairmanship of its Director. These meetings, while beneficial, can hardly be a substitute for "brainstorming" and "free wheeling" sessions of all employees in different government units. As regards Participational Work Simplification the Special Reorganization Unit of the Finance Ministry has, in a limited measure, introduced this concept. Thus, this Unit's study for work simplification is always undertaken in collaboration with the persons who are engaged on the performance of the various jobs, and their active consent to the programme is deemed essential. Training in the fundamentals of work simplification is an important element in the participational work simplification programme. It is heartening to find that the S. R. U., in collaboration with the O & M Division, has set up a good and comprehensive training programme for persons drawn from several government agencies.

The book mainly deals with work simplification in business. It is true that the author has made full use of the experience of the U.S. Government in the field of work simplification and has included a chapter solely on such programmes. Nevertheless, the value of the book in the field of public administration is limited.

The book is written in simple, direct and pleasant style which makes it an easy reading. It is profusely illustrated with tables, charts, graphs, and pictures. The author has made full use of case studies in the business field. Copious references at the end of each chapter to books, brochures, pamphlets, reports, case studies and films relating to work simplification also add to the value of the book. A good text-book on work simplification in general has long been overdue. Professor Lehrer's work simplification is a good bid to fill in this gap.

—*A. Avasthi*

BOOK NOTES

NOT IN OUR STARS ; By A.D. GORWALA, Bombay, Jaico Publishing House, 1958, 303p., Rs. 3.

Here is a collection of sixty-two short articles, written with vigour and often with irony, which were published in some leading dailies during 1953-57. They contain comments and reflections on a wide range of contemporary problems—political, administrative, social and economic—seen through the eyes of an Indian critic, who—to quote his own words—being "disinterested and free can at least say what he thinks about some of the policies and actions of Government, make suggestions, give advice, urge warning, point out wrongs, call for redress, help in a sense, though by no means fully or effectively, to perform a few of the functions of the Indian Republic's loyal Opposition."

Divided into two main parts— Internal Problems and Foreign Affairs—the book has, among others, critical sections on 'Government and Democracy' and 'Big Business'. After reviewing the economic conditions of the country generally the author pleads for simplicity of living and avoidance of ostentation and grandeur in government and politics, and for a pragmatic approach to economic and social problems of the day. There are five articles on China, one of which, dealing with Tibet, is of topical interest. Many of the author's views may not win assent, but the articles will not fail to entertain, and to provoke thought.

PILOT PROJECT, INDIA;—The story of rural development at Etawah, Uttar Pradesh, By ALBERT MAYER & OTHERS, India, Oxford University Press, 1958, xxiv, 367p., Rs. 20.

Here is a comprehensive and stimulating but somewhat diffused account of the important phases of the growth and development of a Pilot Project in Rural Development which was launched at Etawah (U.P.) in late 1948, with a unit of sixty-five villages. During the next three years the Project 'grew to include over three hundred villages of the same district, was reproduced at four other centres in Uttar Pradesh, and finally became a prototype for Community Development Projects and National Extension Service blocks in thousands of villages in every part of India'. The Project was planned and guided by Mr. Albert Mayer, (an eminent architect and town and rural planner from New York), in his capacity as the Planning and Development Adviser

to the Government of U.P. The book, which is rich with extracts of notes from Mr. Mayer's files and diary and full of case histories and case analyses, surveys the 'origins, preliminary study, administrative organisation (for rural development), a philosophy of shared and democratic planning, and the elements of a specific plan for Etawah',...'the concept of felt needs and their satisfaction', 'the principle and practice of concentration' of efforts, 'the methods of realistic targeting and time-tabling', and ways of stimulating inner democratisation of development administration and village participation. The concepts, both of the multi-purpose worker at the village level and of an integrated scheme of all-round participation in developmental programmes, were originally conceived and developed in the Etawah project. 'The pioneer work that has been done there and the invaluable experience in rural reconstruction that has thus been gained have been in a large measure responsible for the scheme of Community Projects which figured so prominently in India's First Five-Year Plan and now forms a vital part of the Second Five-Year Plan'.

In addition, there are interesting chapters devoted to the consideration of results—physical and financial—'Research and Action' and 'Problems of Expansion'. The last section contains a note of caution against an 'over-speeded' programme of community development. 'On the whole the National Extension Service Projects are inadequate in systematic planning, thoroughness, and follow-up'......'The National Extension Service programmes or plans in the new projects involve, in my opinion, too many and varied items both for the capacity of our men at this initial stage and for the absorptive capacity of the village and

development of its inner readiness and leadership'. 'It is relatively easy to multiply the mechanics of the early prototypes, but not so easy to multiply and reproduce their inner content. And unfortunately it is easy to be unaware in the rush that one is doing the former at wonderful speeds at the expense of the latter.' Mr. Mayer feels that 'at least six or seven years of sustained work are needed for such results to mature in their full depth and extent'; that we should at once start equating the educational programme or syllabuses of our secondary schools, colleges, and universities to our field requirements'; and that 'India therefore might appoint a commission of observers and philosophers, trained and sensitive men and women of broad view and of differing backgrounds and outlook... to consider, in the light of India's situation and of such shaking events in the past as the industrial revolution, what kinds of ultimate courses they see ahead'. Mr. Mayer also advocates specialisation at the middle levels of development administration and lays special emphasis on the need for suitable and adequate training in development work and the development of right attitudes.

T V A—THE FIRST TWENTY YEARS; Ed. by ROSCOE C. MARTIN, Alabama, University of Alabama Press, and Tennessee, University of Tennessee Press, xiii, 282p., $4.50.

The volume contains the edited version of lectures delivered by sixteen staff members of the T.V.A. at a course in public administration given by the Florida State University in the first half of 1953. Mr. Gordon R. Clapp, the Chairman of the Board of Directors, in the first introductory chapter, outlines some of the distinguishing features and workways of the T.V.A.

Part I describes 'Framework for Operation'. The chapters on 'Legal Foundations', 'Administrative Foundations', and 'Personnel Administration', outline the statutory obligations of the Authority; the evolution of its organisational pattern and the positive approach of the Authority to personnel problems. Part II of the book is concerned with 'Physical Development of the Valley' and Part III with 'Social and Economic Development'. In Part IV—'Some Broader Implications'— are contained interesting sections on 'T.V.A. in its Larger Setting' and 'Retrospect and Prospect', the last by Prof. Roscoe C. Martin.

CUSTOMS ADMINISTRATION IN CANADA; By GORDON BLAKE, University of Toronto Press, 1957, x, 193p., 28s.

As an essay in tariff technology, the author traces the evolution and development of Canadian tariff administration, primarily as an economic institution, from the times of the French regime to the present day and also discusses the questions of 'The Tariff Schedule', 'Valuation', and "Appraisement'. 'The Customs Establishment Since Confederation' —its organization and the problems of political patronage and morale and efficiency in the Canadian Customs Service—is examined in some detail in Chapter Ten. Emphasizing the existence, in Canada, of two distinct but closely connected enactments to deal with matters of "official tariff" and "legislative tariff", the study attempts to bring out the influence of both economic and administrative factors on the nature, form and content of tariff. The political and ideological problem has

been deliberately relegated to a minor position in the study and its influence has been noted only where it has indisputably affected the topic of discussion.

THE FOUNDATIONS OF POLITICAL THEORY; By H.R.G. GREAVES, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1958, 208p.

Viewing the state as one of the many human associations though possessed of coercive power unlike all the rest of them, the author analyses the sanction underlying the individual's obligations to the state in terms of the latter's purposes and functions which have a meaning in so far as they are directed to giving satisfactions to the persons comprising the system of co-operation the state represents. The foundations of the social morality are said to lie in the coincidence of personal moral ideas. As human purpose for each individual consists of the conscious direction of his life to accord with his ordered experience, the essence of democracy is to be found not in the sanctity of majority but in the conditions it creates and sustains for individual moral fulfilment. Political theory, for Mr. Greaves starts, therefore, from facts of moral consciousness of the individual, emerging from the process of the integration of his individualistic and social needs as one entity, and extends to his rights and duties and to political institutions as conditions of 'self realization' for all individuals. The implication of such an approach to the political theory are essentially in the direction of the democratization of the internal administrative processes and structures.